DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 197 455 EA 013 280

AUTHOR Smith, Dorothy P.; And Others
TITLE Working Papers on the Implications of Declining Enrolment for Women Teachers in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Ontario.
INSTITUTION Commission on Declining School Enrolments in Ontario, Toronto.
REPORT NO CODE-WP-24
PUB DATE [78]
NOTE 92p.; For related documents, see EA 013 260-308.
AVAILABLE FROM Publications Centre, Ministry of Government Services, 880 Bay St., 5th Floor, Queen's Park, Toronto, Ontario M7A 1N8 Canada (Record No. ON01445/CODE00319: $1.00 microfiche).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Certification; Data Analysis; *Declining Enrollment; Economic Climate; Educational Administration; Elementary Secondary Education; *Females; Foreign Countries; Public Schools; Reduction in Force; Seniority; *Sex Discrimination; *Sex Fairness; *Sex Role; Trend Analysis; *Women Faculty
IDENTIFIERS Ontario

ABSTRACT

Through the descriptive use of statistical data, this paper explores inequalities between men and women teachers that may be exacerbated by the problem of declining enrollment in Ontario. Defining education in Canada as an internally segregated profession, the authors assess role differentiation between men and women, the situation of women in the Canadian economy, the reduction in professional segregation (resulting in an increase of male teachers), and the implications for women of changes in educational administration, curriculum, and certification. The authors conclude that in adjusting to declining enrollment, the reduction of staff on accepted principles (such as seniority) would considerably diminish women's share of public school teaching because of established inequities that fail to allow women recognition for a career pattern combining marriage, family responsibilities, and professional commitment. In conclusion, the authors recommend that modification of women's secondary status in teaching focus on the profession as a whole rather than on the individual, that school boards revise methods of calculating seniority for job security purposes, and that a career part-time appointment be developed. (Author/WD)

**********
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
**********

Working Paper No. 24

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
X Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

# WORKING PAPER ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF DECLINING ENROLMENT FOR WOMEN TEACHERS IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN ONTARIO

ED197455

Dorothy E. Smith
Marilee Reimer
Connie Taylor
Yoko Ueda

This paper was commissioned by and prepared for the Commission on Declining School Enrolments in Ontario and is not to be cited or quoted without the permission of the Commission and the authors.

*This study reflects the views of the authors and not necessarily those of the Commission or the Ministry of Education.*

E4013 280

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
B. M. Hildebrand
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

## Acknowledgments

*This report is heavily dependent on the the work of the Wollstonecraft Research Group during the year. In addition to those named above, other members of the Wollstonecraft Group who have made a special contribution to this paper are Marguerite Cassin and Margaret Gee. The Wollstonecraft Research Group is a group concerned to do and advance, research in education in relation to women.*

*Our appreciation and thanks are due to Rosa Trumper, programmer and facilitator extraordinary, and Donna McClement for design and typing assistance.*

DEC 1 9 1980

TABLE OF CONTENTS


| | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| I | INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| | 1. Declining Enrolment and the Lesson of the Depression | 1 |
| | 2. The Issue Is Inequality, Not Discrimination | 3 |
| | 3. Method | 5 |
| | 4. The Shape of Inequality — Alternative Models | 6 |
| II | THE INTERNALLY SEGREGATED PROFESSION | 13 |
| | 1. Role Differentiation by Panel: Elementary and Secondary | 13 |
| | 2. Role Differentiation by Teaching Level and Subject | 14 |
| | 3. Role Differentiation — Classroom Versus Administrative Responsibilities | 15 |
| | 4. Careers and the Institutionalization of a Secondary Status | 16 |
| | 5. An Institutionalized Secondary Status | 19 |
| III | THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IN THE CANADIAN ECONOMY | 38 |
| IV | ONE-SIDED DESEGREGATION | 48 |
| V | WOMEN TEACHERS AND THREE MAIN AREAS OF CHANGE | 57 |
| | 1. Changes in Educational Administration: Consequences for Women | 57 |
| | 2. Curriculum Changes and Implications for Women | 60 |
| | 3. The Ontario Teacher's Certificate | 63 |
| | a) Introduction | 63 |
| | b) The Basic Changes and General Implications | 64 |
| | c) The Implications for Women and Men Teachers | 67 |
| VI | CONCLUSION | 73 |
| | 1. General Comments | 73 |
| | 2. Recommendations | 76 |
| | 3. Epilogue | 77 |

TABLES


| | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| I.1 | Total Educational Staff, Elementary and Secondary, by Sex, 1972-1977 | 10 |
| I.2 | Classroom Teachers, Elementary and Secondary by Sex, 1972-1977 | 10 |
| I.3 | Total Educational Staff, Secondary, by Sex, 1972-1977 | 11 |
| I.4 | Classroom Teachers, Secondary, by Sex, 1972-1977 | 11 |
| I.5 | Total Educational Staff, Elementary, by Sex, 1972-1977 | 12 |
| I.6 | Classroom Teachers, Elementary, by Sex, 1972-1977 | 12 |
| II.1 | Teaching Level (Multiple Responses) 1972-1977, by Sex, Elementary (Junior Kindergarten) | 23 |
| II.2 | Teaching Level (Multiple Responses) 1972-1977, by Sex, Elementary (Kingergarten) | 23 |
| II.3 | Teaching Level (Multiple Responses) 1972-1977, by Sex, Elementary: Primary (Years 1 to 3) | 24 |
| II.4 | Teaching Level (Multiple Responses) 1972-1977, by Sex, Elementary: Junior (Years 4 to 6) | 24 |
| II.5 | Teaching Level (Multiple Responses) 1972-1977, by Sex, Intermediate Elementary (Years 7 and 8) | 25 |
| II.6 | Teaching Level (Multiple Responses) 1972-1977, by Sex, Intermediate Secondary (Years 1 and 2) | 25 |
| II.7 | Teaching Level (Multiple Responses) 1972-1977, by Sex, Senior Secondary (Years 3 and 4) | 26 |
| II.8 | Teaching Level (Multiple Responses) 1972-1977, by Sex, Senior Secondary (Year 5) | 26 |
| II.9 | Teaching Level (Multiple Responses) Elementary and Secondary Public Schools, Percentage of Female, 1972-1973 and 1976-1977 | 27 |
| II.10 | Principals by Sex, Elementary Public Schools, 1972-1977 | 28 |
| II.11 | Vice-Principals by Sex, Elementary Public Schools, 1972-1977 | 28 |
| II.12 | Principals by Sex, Secondary Public Schools, 1972-1977 | 29 |
| II.13 | Vice-Principals by Sex, Secondary Public Schools, 1972-1977 | 29 |

| | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| II.14 | Combined Total of Principals by Sex, Elementary and Secondary Public Schools, 1972-1977 | 30 |
| II.15 | Combined Total of Vice-Principal by Sex, Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1972-1977 | 30 |
| II.16 | Chairman, Department Head, Assistant Department Head: Elementary Schools, 1972-1977 | 31 |
| II.17 | Chairman, Department Head, Assistant Department Head: Secondary Schools, 1972-1977 | 31 |
| II.18 | Categories of Administrative Staff, Elementary and Secondary, by Numbers of Educational Staff, by Sex, 1976-1977 | 32 |
| II.19 | Degree Qualifications of Elementary School Teachers in Ontario, 1977 | 33 |
| II.20 | Combined Total of Principals and Vice-Principals, by Sex and Age, 1976-1977 | 34 |
| II.21 | Age distribution of Elementary Educational Staff by Age Group and Sex, 1976-77 | 34 |
| II.22 | Age distribution of Secondary Educational Staff by Age Group and Sex, 1976-77 | 35 |
| II.23 | Age distribution of Elementary and Secondary Educational Staff by Age Group and by Sex, 1976-77 | 35 |
| II.24 | New Secondary School Teachers Hired in Ontario by Sex, September 1967-1976 | 36 |
| II.25 | Attrition Rates: Percentage of New Secondary Teachers Hired Each Year 1967-74, Still Employed at 3 Years and 5 Years, by Sex | 37 |
| II.26 | Part-Time Teachers, Teachers' Aids Paid and Volunteer | 37 |
| III.1 | Female Labour Force Participation, 1941-1976 | 42 |
| III.2 | The Participation Rate of Women and Men in the Labour Force, Canada, 1972-1977 | 43 |
| III.3 | The Participation Rate of Women and Men in the Labour Force, Ontario, 1972-1977 | 44 |
| III.4 | Women's Labour Force Participation by Marital Status, 1941-1971 | 45 |
| III.5 | Unemployment Rate by Sex, Canada, 1972-1977 | 46 |
| III.6 | Unemployment Rate by Sex, Ontario, 1972-1977 | 47 |
| IV.1 | Women as Percent of Teachers, Canada, 1941-1971 | 53 |

| | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| IV.2 | Total Educational Staff, Elementary and Secondary, Differences in Numbers, 1972-1973 and 1976-1977, by Sex | 53 |
| IV.3 | Classroom Teachers, Elementary and Secondary, Differences in Numbers, 1972-1973 and 1976-1977, by Sex | 53 |
| IV.4 | Total Educational Staff, Elementary, Differences in Numbers, 1972-1973 and 1976-1977, by Sex | 54 |
| IV.5 | Classroom Teachers, Elementary, Differences in Numbers, 1972-1973 and 1976-1977, by Sex | 54 |
| IV.6 | Total Educational Staff, Secondary, Differences in Numbers, 1972-1973 and 1976-1977, by Sex | 54 |
| IV.7 | Classroom Teachers, Secondary, Differences in Numbers, 1972-1973 and 1976-1977, by Sex | 55 |
| IV.8 | Total Principals and Vice-Principals, Elementary and Secondary, and Women's Share, 1972-1973 and 1976-1977 | 55 |
| IV.9 | Principals, Elementary and Secondary, Differences in Numbers, 1972-1973 and 1976-1977, by Sex | 56 |
| IV.10 | Vice-Principals, Elementary and Secondary, Differences in Numbers, 1972-1973 and 1976-1977, by Sex | 56 |
| V.1 | Secondary School Teachers, Numerical Distribution by First Subject Specialty and by Sex, 1976-1977 | 69 |
| V.2 | Secondary School Teachers, Percentage by First Subject Specialty and by Sex, 1976-1977 | 70 |
| V.3 | Secondary School Teachers, Percentage Distribution of Men and Women by First Subject Specialty, 1976-1977 | 71 |
| V.4 | Degree Qualifications of Secondary School Teachers in Ontario, 1977 | 72 |
| VI.1 | Experience, Elementary and Secondary Teachers, by Year and Sex, 1976-1977, First 9 Years Only | 79 |
| VI.2 | Experience, Elementary and Secondary Teachers, Cumulated Numbers at 3 Years and 5 Years by Sex | 80 |
| VI.3 | Projected Totals: 1976-1977 Total Educational Staff, Less September 1976, cumulated "3 year" and "5 year" Staff Reductions by Sex | 80 |

# I INTRODUCTION

## 1. Declining Enrolment and the Lesson of the Depression

The problem of declining public school enrolment and its implications for women teachers must be understood in the context of the general difficulties being experienced by the Canadian economy at this time. Government response to these difficulties has been to cut back government spending. This sharpens the effect of reduced numbers of students. Indeed the experience of elementary public schools in Ontario in the last few years suggests that declining enrolment became a focus only as government sought for areas in which economies could be made. The effects of demographic changes resulting in declining enrolment were first felt by elementary public schools in 1971 and 1972, yet by 1977 overall numbers of educational staff had decreased very little (Table I.1). Declining enrolments were not anticipated by a reduction in the numbers of teachers qualified by training colleges and universities (CODE Interim Report, Table 6.35). It is only now in the context of economic crisis that declining enrolment has been made a practical issue. Thus the resulting sharp reductions taking place and proposed have their impact after a period showing if anything, an overall increase in numbers of educational staff over the five-year period from 1972 (Table I.I).

During the Depression years of the 1920's and 30's there was considerable pressure to reduce women's participation in the labour force. Employment was seen as less essential for women because -- whether as daughters or as wives -- it was believed they could or should depend upon the earnings of men. Jobs should therefore be distributed by families rather than by individuals. When jobs were short, a family should not have more than one earner and he should be, if possible, the man. Once the depression was underway, strong public feeling against women working no longer differentiated on the grounds of need (Thonnessen, 1973). Women working, particularly employed married women, were seen as taking away men's jobs (Milkman, 1976).

The effect of depression appears as a dual one. On the one hand a preferential treatment of men over women in competition which has government, media and public opinion sanction and on the other an interest by employers in the advantages of a less expensive source of labour. It was in these years in the States at least that the ethos defining women's place more strictly in the sphere of domestic labour and more exclusively dependent upon the man's wage became more fully defined (Milkman, 1976; Humphries, 1976). Men's and women's work became more distinctly segregated and women became more marginal to the labour force taking on increasingly the distinctive role described as a 'reserve army of labour' (Milkman, 1976).

These pressures extended to women teachers, most particularly to married women teachers. Until the 1940's a married woman teacher could not be employed and a woman teacher who married during her period of employment had to resign. In addition there was a sharpened differentiation between women and men by qualification. In the mid-30's second class teaching certificates were no longer accepted from men, yet in spite of attempts by FWTAO to do away with second class certificates altogether, the need for cheap teachers (mostly women) in rural schools was one major argument for keeping them (Arbus, 1978). The need to replace men by women teachers during the second world war led to a breakdown of the practice of excluding married women teachers, and with the expansion of education in the 1960's and 70's the demand for experienced teachers was too great for a return to prewar practices.

A general pattern becomes visible as a response to crises of unemployment. Competition for positions can take the form of more advantaged sections of the labour force restricting the access of less advantaged to the available jobs. Established inequalities become the basis for increased inequality. Those who were in a more vulnerable position at the outset, those whose positions were the outcome of previous inequities, are likely to experience the effects of recession unequally.

This then is the issue with which this working paper is concerned. The situation of women and men teachers is already inequitable. Women

teachers have made significant advances over the past few years, notably in equalization of salaries. Affirmative action initiatives have been started in some school boards in Ontario. Yet the situation of women and men teachers still shows the marks of previous inequities. Government cutbacks are made in this context of inequity. But the process is not one which returns us to the position we started from. Each change lays down its effects over the previous period and is thus transmitted into the future. While salary equalization and scattered affirmative action programs have altered the degree of inequality experienced in specific areas, structural forms of inequality persist. Public pronouncements such as that accompanying the 1977 Ontario budget which

> divided the labour force into primary -- men between twenty-five and fifty-four years of age, and secondary -- everyone else
>
> (Robinson, 1977)

serve to legitimate the differential treatment of women and men. After a brief period of prospective gains, women teachers may find new and newly institutionalized forms of inequality resulting from the present crisis.

## 2. The Issue Is Inequality, Not Discrimination

Inequalities in the situation of women and men teachers cannot be separated from inequalities experienced in general by women in the society. It would be possible to devise various indicators specific to the educational system. These will indeed become visible in the course of looking at the relative situation of women and men teachers in the special context -- differences, for example, in the proportion of women and men principals and vice-principals. But we should keep in mind as background the known inequities in women's political representation both in legislatures and in government bureaucracies, and in general also in unions and professional associations concerned to defend the interests of their members. Women are generally more vulnerable and less well placed to ward off changes affecting their situation adversely.

Then we will not define the issue in terms of discrimination. In fact, in our view, discrimination is a highly misleading concept. The basic

problem for women and other disadvantaged groups in the society is precisely that they are disadvantaged. Inequality is the issue. Discrimination merely identifies legislative, administrative or other less formal practices serving to maintain the inequality of defined groups. Discrimination is a useless, even a misleading concept, when it is separated from the problem of inequality.

In this context, we see three main ways in which changes may be differentially consequential for women and men:

1. On whatever grounds and however properly or improperly, women and men may be treated differently as such. Policies discouraging employment of married women are an instance. Policies aimed to increase the numbers of men teaching in elementary schools on the grounds that men are needed as role models for boys are another. If there were similar policies promoting the numbers of women teaching in secondary school on the grounds that women are needed as role models for girls, that would be another. It is this type of practice which is ordinarily described as discriminatory. Here we will not be concerned with evaluating the practice as such, but only with their consequences for the relative situation for women and men -- i.e., do they serve to increase or decrease inequities?

2. Principles, rules, regulations, policies, etc., which are intended to apply even handedly across the board may have differential consequences for women and men teachers because their impact in the context of the situation of women and men teachers is different. For example, the move to close smaller schools in the 1960's and 70's resulted in a decline in the numbers of women principals because women principals were mostly principals of smaller schools (Stokes, 1971).

3. When we consider the relative situation of women and men, we must take into account other aspects of their situation than that defined by their employment. Changes in work conditions, career development, bases of accumulating seniority, etc., have differential consequences for women and men because of factors external to the educational system -- their relations to family and home, their situation in the labour force in general. For example, the established patterns of advancement through university to a higher degree or professional qualification is adapted

to men's life cycle and does not allow for or take into account the possibility of time out for children. Hence women have had to make choices which men have not had to make.

In actual contexts, these types of effects cannot often be separated from one another. However, it is important that we extend our understanding of the implications of change beyond the ordinary type 1 corresponding to 'discrimination.' Indeed types 2 and 3 are probably of greater general importance.

## 3. Method

The uses made of statistical data in this working paper and indeed the general method of analysis, are largely descriptive. We are not concerned to explain isolated aspects of the phenomena we find. We are rather concerned to bring out aspects of a social organization. We will not be making assertions here in the form of hypotheses or otherwise of explanations seeking to account for phenomena observed. Nor will we make projections on the basis of an existing trend or tendency to a possible future state.

We are not concerned to explain discrimination, inequality, nor indeed with explanations of any kind. Therefore in the use of data we are not seeking to evaluate hypotheses or to disclose relations among variables which can be interpreted as causal. Rather, we have taken the statistical information available to use as information arising in and reflecting a social organization which is not fully available in that statistical data. We have taken the data as providing a collection of 'markers' to an underlying social organizational process, itself in historical movement, itself in course of change. The data itself, the categories, the relevances organizing the selection of categories, the methods by which it is assembled, all are integral parts of the very organizational processes with which we are concerned. It is this which allows us to treat the data as marking underlying processes of organization not fully visible in the statistical information. It is this also which prohibits treatment of the categories as causally related variables.

Further, we have avoided making projections. At the outset of this work, we thought it might be possible, for example, to simulate the effects of a given redundancy policy on some aspect of the situation of women teachers. We saw, however, over the course of the last few months that this, though possible, would not be a meaningful enterprise. Projections for social scientists depend on the constancy and perpetuation of the social processes which relate the factors with which the projection is concerned. Demographic projections with their known problems are among the most successful, because the relations among the factors do not change and fluctuations can take place only within set biological limits. Not so however when the bases of relations are organizational and administrative. When administrative and organizational changes are in process, then projections of factors involved in such processes of change are misleading.

The general procedure we have used is one which attempts to explicate the social organizational processes underlying and generating the statistical data with respect to the situation of women teachers. The method proceeds by developing a model -- analogous to a sketch map of an area -- and filling it in with detail, and by clarifying and sharpening the general relations it introduces. The intention is a systematic description of a situation and process. When we come to look at the implications of changes that are going on and indicating possible problems and outcomes, we will be concerned to identify tendencies which appear to be established as features of the social organization of public school education in Ontario. We are concerned less with trends than with the organizational practices being laid down for the future. Their character as <u>trends</u> is indeed an artifact of the statistical nature of the data.

It will not of course be possible within the scope of this work to fully map this region. Nonetheless we have thought it important to put forward a preliminary sketch of the region because it is needed now. Hopefully by making the results of our work and thinking available at this point, some of the negative outcomes we point to may be avoided by timely responses.

## 4. <u>The Shape of Inequality -- Alternative Models</u>

More than one kind of sketch can be used to map the social relations of

inequality for women. The most straightforward and probably the most generally used is that of a ranking procedure which allocates individuals according to criteria which apply equally to every individual. Each individual may possess varying qualities (qualifications, competences, achievements) on the basis of which a ranking may be made. According to such a model, ranking procedures should apply to women and men in the same way. Their position on the scale should not show the effect of sex or show it only through differences in relevant qualifications. If there are systematic differences in the ranking of women and men, such as, for example, women consistently rank higher than men, then this must be because women do better than men in terms of the criteria used. If we look at this as a form of social organization, its most familiar form in the school setting is that which is found in procedures for promotion to the positions of principal and vice-principal. In principle, women and men should be competing equally for these positions. In principle the numbers of women and men principals and vice-principals should closely reflect the statistical distribution of women and men teachers, given that the qualifications and other characteristics relevant to the position are equally distributed among women and men. This model, however, applies to only a rather limited range of situations. It is not usually recognized that it is in fact a model which extracts essential properties of only one rather specialized form of social organization -- one in which individuals are competing with one another for positions and in which the criteria are already set prior to the competitive process. The process or dynamic aspect of this model is identified with individual actors whose choices, motives, expectations, etc., may be used to account for deviations for the strict application of measurable criteria in the ranking outcomes.

This type of model has been useful in affirmative action, but it is a good deal less relevant when we are no longer concerned with individuals in competition for positions, but with the overall situation of particular groups of people whose work lives and situation is organized differentially on the basis of sex. The focus here is different and needs a different model. The statistical data are produced by a complex administrative apparatus. The social organization to which they give access is the social organization of the educational system. Through the data we can discern the differential patterning of women's and men's roles as features of the institutionalized structure of that system.

The forms which inequality takes for women teachers is treated as an integral part of its organization. In times of change, that social organization is itself in change. The model we need, as a basis for our preliminary mapping, is one which recovers the lineaments of that social organization.

Our examination of the teaching profession suggests that it is organized internally on a segregated basis. That is, women and men teachers play rather different roles in the school system; that women generally occupy not just lower, but more subordinate positions; that they tend to be allocated different kinds of work; that they have less access to bases for promotions; that they have a typically different career structure; and that they have a different place in the overall 'economy' of the profession. The situation in teaching is less markedly segregated than in other professional fields. The avenues of access via educational qualifications are more universalistic. The opening up of opportunities for women during the war and subsequently with the increased demand of the 1960's broke down some of the more marked patterns of segregation within the teaching profession which had been established earlier. Nevertheless it persists. Our focus then on the bases of inequalities experienced by women teachers will be on a form of segregation embedded in the social organization of the profession and the schools.

However this is not a static situation. Changes have been taking place over the past few years in the internally segregated structure of the teaching profession. Segregation within a profession reduces the extent of competition for advancement and rewards. One set of persons is largely cut off by institutionalized barriers of various forms from access. Their work is different, their orientation is different, their career paths are different. This is a form of protection which works both ways. Men don't do or seek to do the kinds of work identified with women. Women don't seek the opportunities identified with men or to do the kinds of work. Women generally were not thought of seriously when a principal's position became open. They did not even themselves expect to be promoted (Reich, 1975) and on the whole they have not been.* When

*As the Haliburton study demonstrated, men principals pick men for vice-principalships and are looking for male styles of leadership (Haliburton, 1971).

a segregated structure is fully institutionalized, this is how it works. It seems almost to become a 'natural' aspect of the relations between the sexes. The difference in work roles comes to seem almost a natural characteristic of each sex.

But over the last few years, things have been changing. There has been a breaking down of the barriers segregating women's and men's work in teaching. This process is likely to be hastened by the kinds of administrative and organizational modifications currently going on in Ontario. It is hard at this time to evaluate fully the implications for women. Some of our data will suggest that the lowering of the barriers has so far worked to the advantage of men rather than of women -- so that men are coming into competition for the kinds of work formerly largely considered to be women's without a corresponding gain of women's access to men's work.

It should be pointed out that nowhere will we find an absolute lack of overlap in what women do and men do. However, the accumulation of different indicators and the identification at certain points of an overriding effect points to the operation of a segregated model of role structure. An overriding effect is one, for example, where women who remain single have essentially placed themselves in the same situation as men, with respect to their capacity to pursue a career based on a man's life cycle, yet do not thereby gain equal access with men to opportunities for advancement. It is being a woman which segregates them and not the contingencies of marriage and family with its practical consequences for career commitments.

It will be argued that the kinds of changes which we see taking place over the last five years and leading up to the current responses to declining enrolment is a one-sided desegregation where positions formerly institutionalized as largely women's positions become available to men without a corresponding opening up of positions for women. In the context of reductions in staff positions, the development of such a situation is a very serious one for women since as competition intensifies the underlying organization of work roles facilitates and encourages the displacement of women teachers by men.

TABLE I.1

Total Educational Staff, Elementary and Secondary, by Sex, 1972-1977

Province of Ontario: Public Schools

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 36,773 | 39,895 | 76,668 | 52 |
| 1973 - 74 | 36,459 | 37,931 | 74,390 | 51 |
| 1974 - 75 | 37,057 | 37,652 | 74,709 | 50 |
| 1975 - 76 | 38,410 | 38,108 | 76,518 | 50 |
| 1976 - 77 | 38,830 | 38,033 | 76,863 | 49 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE I.2

Classroom Teachers, Elementary and Secondary, by Sex, 1972-77

Province of Ontario: Public Schools

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 23,139 | 34,069 | 57,208 | 60 |
| 1973 - 74 | 23,478 | 33,085 | 56,564 | 58 |
| 1974 - 75 | 24,159 | 33,120 | 57,279 | 58 |
| 1975 - 76 | 26,076 | 33,167 | 59,243 | 56 |
| 1976 - 77 | 26,407 | 32,974 | 59,381 | 56 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE I.3

Total Educational Staff, Secondary, by Sex, 1972-77

Province of Ontario: Public Schools

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 23,596 | 10,773 | 34,369 | 31.3 |
| 1973 - 74 | 22,935 | 9,981 | 32,826 | 30.1 |
| 1974 - 75 | 23,385 | 9,992 | 33,377 | 29.9 |
| 1975 - 76 | 24,189 | 10,219 | 34,408 | 29.7 |
| 1976 - 77 | 24,392 | 10,473 | 34,865 | 30.0 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE I.4

Classroom Teachers, Secondary, by Sex, 1972-77

Province of Ontario: Public Schools

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 14,715 | 8,489 | 23,204 | 36.6 |
| 1973 - 74 | 14,347 | 7,777 | 22,124 | 35.2 |
| 1974 - 75 | 14,900 | 7,895 | 22,795 | 34.6 |
| 1975 - 76 | 16,456 | 8,515 | 24,971 | 34.1 |
| 1976 - 77 | 16,618 | 8,716 | 25,334 | 34.4 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE I.5

Total Educational Staff, Elementary, by Sex, 1972-77

Province of Ontario: Public Schools

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 13,177 | 29,122 | 42,299 | 68.8 |
| 1973 - 74 | 13,524 | 27,950 | 41,474 | 67.4 |
| 1974 - 75 | 13,672 | 27,660 | 41,332 | 66.9 |
| 1975 - 76 | 14,221 | 27,889 | 42,110 | 66.2 |
| 1976 - 77 | 14,438 | 27,560 | 41,998 | 65.6 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE I.6

Classroom Teachers, Elementary, by Sex, 1972-77

Province of Ontario: Public Schools

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 8,424 | 25,580 | 34,004 | 75.2 |
| 1973 - 74 | 9,131 | 25,309 | 34,440 | 73.5 |
| 1974 - 75 | 9,259 | 25,225 | 34,514 | 73.2 |
| 1975 - 76 | 9,620 | 24,652 | 34,272 | 71.9 |
| 1976 - 77 | 9,789 | 24,258 | 34,047 | 71.2 |

Source: Statistics Canada

## II THE INTERNALLY SEGREGATED PROFESSION

In this section we will be concerned to describe forms of segregation of women's and men's roles within the teaching profession as a feature of the social organization of the educational system. That social organization produces and is partially visible in its statistical data. Our description of the forms of segregation is at this point limited to what becomes visible by this means. The major differences appear in the proportions of women and men teaching at different levels of the school system and in different subject areas.

Some of these differences are only partially visible in the statistical information because it is limited by its administrative relevances and does not always tell us what we want to know. For example, many aspects of the real ways in which women teachers have integrated their professional role to the work at home are relatively inaccessible through these means. Of particular difficulty here has been the lack of statistical information concerning part-time teachers.

### 1. Role Differentiation by Panel: Elementary & Secondary

Tables I.1 and I.2 showed us the overall figures for women and men teachers in the public schools in Ontario. There have been changes over the past five years — these will be addressed in the next section.

The differences in the relative shares of women and men in secondary school as opposed to elementary public school teaching is so taken for granted that it is generally neglected. Elementary and secondary schools are often viewed as if they constituted separate and non-comparable institutions, so that the proportions of women in elementary public schools is seen as representing a bias towards women and against men, and it is argued that men should be more represented in the elementary school system. But when we look at the public school system as a whole, we see that educational staff is made up of approximately half women and half men. The differences between elementary and secondary schools with respect to the proportions of women and men teachers are aspects of an overall pattern segregating women's and men's teaching roles. What we can see very clearly here is a differentiation which assigns to women proportionately larger shares of teaching at

the less advanced levels, less specialized by subject matter, and of younger students. At the secondary level women teachers are only approximately 30% (in 1977) of educational staff (Table 1.3) and only 34.4% of full-time classroom teachers (Table 1.4) whereas at the elementary level (in 1977) they are 65% of educational staff (Table 1.5) and 71% of full-time classroom teachers (Table 1.6).

2. Role Differentiation by Teaching Level & Subject

The same pattern is apparent when we look at the distribution of women teachers in the different grade levels of the public schools (Tables II.1 - II.6). If we run down the scale from the most senior to the more junior we find (Table II.9) a consistently increasing proportion of women teachers at every level. In 1977 women were 23% of those teaching at the Senior Secondary (Year 5) level, and 31% of those teaching at the Intermediate Secondary level. In the Elementary Junior grades they were 59% and their share of kindergarten through grades 1 and 3 was between 94% and 88%.

There is a sharp jump at the boundary between elementary and secondary school — women are approximately 60% of teachers in grades 4 and 6 and only 31% of teachers in Intermediate Secondary levels. Thus there is a bunching up effect in the more junior elementary school grades below grade 3 -- the average for the three primary grades is 30 percentage points more than the average for intermediate grades (intermediate secondary and elementary junior).

In addition to the inverse relation between the proportion of women's teaching assignments and grade level, in the secondary school there is a characteristic distribution of women in subject or function specialties which concentrates them in certain areas and gives them a more restricted range than men. Women's specialties are quite markedly concentrated in arts subjects, including languages (but excluding history), where 35.6% of women's specialties are found as compared with 17.8% for men. When we look at women's shares of the specialties, we find that they predominate in only three areas — home economics, office skills and library. In arts and visual arts approximately half are women, but

in every other area except music and special education (women are approximately one-third), they are not more than one quarter (Table V.1).

### 3. Role Differentiations -- Classroom Versus Administrative Responsibilities

Women teachers' professional and career orientation has been different from men's. They have made a serious professional commitment but one which took for granted the institutionalization of a segregated role structure. They took for granted they could continue to work at or close to the classroom level. Stokes' sample of Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario members showed 87% who made remaining a classroom teacher or becoming a specialist in a particular field as their first choice (Stokes, 1971: 44). Very few looked outside the classroom or expected administrative roles. In general women and men teachers' roles diverge with respect to their relation to classroom teaching and administrative positions within the school. Even a brief glance at the differing proportions of women and men as we go from educational staff as a whole (Table I.1) to classroom teachers (Table I.2) indicates the difference. Women are approximately half of all educational staff, but they are more than half of classroom teachers. The relative concentration of women in classroom teaching is indicated by the fact that 86.7% of all full-time women educational staff are classroom teachers (1976-77) as compared with 68% of men. As we might expect this 'institutional' emphasis is somewhat more marked at the elementary than at the secondary level, though the difference is not great.

The other side of the concentration of women in classroom teaching appears in their very small share of school administrative positions. Women have not expected to be promoted (Reich, 1975) and on the whole they have not been. Our data on women's share of administrative positions within the schools shows women as a very small percentage of principals, vice-principals, chairpersons, department heads, etc. Table II.18 shows us what this looks like as a segregated structure visible in the administrative statistics. This table brings together all categories of administrative positions in the school and shows us what percentage of men and

women educational staff are in such positions. It indexes segregation by type of administrative responsibility. The difference between women and men at all levels is most marked. Overall 27% of men educational staff occupy administrative positions as compared with 5% of women. Concretely what this means in terms of people's everyday experience is that when women teachers look around they see only a very small percentage in administrative positions. At the elementary level it is two out of every hundred. At the secondary level it is as much as thirteen out of every hundred, but these are mostly at the lower ranks. This does not add up to much in terms of expectations of advancement or indeed offer much in the way of role models for women teachers. The contrast with the position of men is quite marked. Approximately twenty-seven in every hundred men educational staff in both panels are in administrative positions.

Furthermore we can see that women's share of administrative positions varies inversely with the relative status and power of the position. Roughly the higher the status, the lower the percentage of women. The effects of school level and rank interact. Women have the least share of secondary school principalships (Table II.12) -- only 2% -- and the highest share of chairperson, department head, etc. positions in elementary school -- 33% (Table II.17).

## 4. Careers and the Institutionalization of a Secondary Status

The educational system institutionalizes different career paths for women and men. Careers tend to be seen as an individual's series of lifetime choices, and commitments. This, however, is misleading if it is not placed in the context of the institutionalized structures which provide its basis. Our view of an internally segregated profession offers a somewhat different view of the standard approach which takes men's career paths as normative and treats women's largely in terms of how they deviate from that norm. Women teachers have been viewed as less seriously committed as men, as making only a short-term commitment, as less professional and as working largely not for pin money in these days but for the new suite of living room furniture -- hence as uninterested in professional advancement. Anyone who thinks of these character-

istics in relation to teachers she or he knows realizes that there's a big gap somewhere between what is said and the reality. In fact, women teachers have a real professional commitment. What differs is their characteristic career path and that is formed by and institutionalized in the educational system. Their career paths in teaching enable them or have in the past enabled them to articulate work at home and in relation to their families with a professional life. Stokes' work makes it clear that women who have chosen teaching have done so as one among the few professional alternatives open to women which provides this kind of opportunity (Stokes, 1971). This is the other side of the segregated structure built into the educational system so far as women teachers are concerned. It organizes a professional career for women which travels on different and on secondary roads as compared with men's.

This differentiated career structure is organized on the basis of sex and not on the basis of different individual choices of direction and commitment. It applies to women as a social category, rather than to individuals. In addition to the typical expectations which lead to lower levels of qualifications for women teachers (Table II.19) we also find that the role differentiation described in previous sections means that women are less well placed when it comes to opportunities for promotion to administrative positions. The career paths of women are not ones which take them up a hierarchy. For women who marry, have children and are concerned to combine teaching with time out for childrearing, the segregated structure has allowed flexibility. But it has also created a secondary status which is imposed on all women teachers, regardless of their personal situation, arrangements and ambitions.

The way in which the secondary status applies to women teachers as such and not merely to women teachers who have chosen the alternative form of professional career is visible in the relatively low percentage of women in administrative positions at older ages. When we look at the distribution of the positions of principal and vice-principal among women and men for each age group, we can see that women's share comes nowhere near that of men at ages beyond the period when the exigencies of childrearing would be truly exigencies. Of all women teachers in

these age groups between forty and sixty the percentage who have administrative responsibilities is between 4.6% and 5.5%, whereas for men at these ages the figure is between 22.2% and 18.5% (Table II.20).

The secondary status accorded to women teachers in the educational system in Ontario is not peculiar to education. It is an extension of a labour market segregated by sex. It takes advantage of the bottling up of skills and capacities resulting from the narrow range of professional and technical opportunities available to women. Relatively high levels of skill and responsibility became available at relatively low cost.

Among teachers salary differentials between men and women are not organized in relation to differentiated qualifications and skills, as they are for dentists and dental hygienists or physicians and nurses. Men and women teachers have the same salary scales and formally equal access to educational qualifications. But when we look more closely, we see that the familiar pattern of the lower cost women professionals appears in a different form. In 1976-77 the median salary for women elementary teachers was $14,447 as compared with $18,132 for men and at the secondary level women's median salary was $18,925 and men's $21,791 (Source: Statistics Canada). These differences still persist. One basis for this differential is a difference in qualifications, for in fact there are differences between women and men teachers. At the elementary level in 1977, nearly 58% women had no degree and the remaining 40% had a bachelor's degree. In contrast only 24% of men had no degree and 69% had a bachelor's degree. (Table II.19)

A second basis for these salary differentials are the differences in the age distributions and a 'cycling-through' process applying to women. 30% of all elementary teachers (Table II.21) and 20% of all public school education 1 staff, are women under the age of 29. (Table II.23). Men under the age of 29 are 20% of elementary teachers (Table II.21) and no more than 2% of all public school educational staff (Table II.23). Women teachers are younger than men. Our data here are for one year only and that a fairly recent one. The intake can vary the relations in in each year. However, the hiring figures and the attrition rates

for secondary school teachers suggest a 'cycling-through' process for women. Though the proportions of women and men hired each year at the secondary level have increased from 42.5% women hired in 1966 to 47% in 1976 (Table II.24), we have already seen (Tables 1.3 and 1.4) that women's share of secondary school teaching has if anything declined slightly in the last five years. It is in any case definitely lower than the rates at which women have been newly hired at the secondary level. In 1975-76 women were 29.7% of Secondary Educational Staff (Table 1.3) as contrasted with 47% of new hirings (Table II.24). Proportionately more women were hired than stayed. Attrition rates from 1967 to 1973 show us from 42% to 55% of women teachers hired in any one year at the secondary level would no longer be teaching at the end of 3 years in Ontario public schools. At the end of 5 years, only from 30% to 40% of women teachers are still employed. The comparable figures for men range from 47% to 79% at 3 years and 66% and 70% at 5 years. This cycling-through process must contribute to the age patterning we find and the associated lower average pay of women teachers. It is a pattern of marginality which is typical of women's occupational experience.

5. An Institutionalized Secondary Status

The established secondary status can be seen from two points. This institutionalized pattern of segregated and secondary roles for women is one which can be looked at from two sides. It can be seen as offering the educational system important advantages. It has offered a relatively high level of skill at lower cost than would otherwise be the case. It secures the male career path and hence the commitment of men to the profession and the school organization, by providing simultaneously the numbers of classroom teachers essential to the school and reducing by at least half the potential competition for promotion. It provides a flexible pool of well-trained teachers who are available to supplement regular full-time staff as part-time teachers as supply teachers, teachers' aides and so forth. Furthermore, when women return to either full-time or part-time teaching after an interval devoted to childcare, their seniority positions depend upon local board policies. It has been established practice to recognize seniority as continuous for the purpose of salary determination across non-teaching intervals, but it is only recently that some Ontario boards have implemented a system of "bridged" seniority, that is, they recognize seniority with the same board accumulated prior to a non-teaching interval as being continuous for the purposes of determining seniority in relation to job security. This should be implemented on an Ontario-wide basis, in line with the boards which have already implemented bridged seniority. Women are more adversely

affected by variations in the present calculation of seniority across time than are men since their family and childcare commitments are undertaken at direct cost to their professional security.

Similarly, women are likely to be differentially affected and placed at a disadvantage given the current practice of non-transferability of seniority for job security purposes across boards. For example, a teacher who changes boards after accumulating seniority with one board (whether a non-teaching interval occurs or not) is required to compete for the retention of her position on the basis of seniority accumulated only with her new board. No credit is given for seniority established with the previous board except for the calculation of salary. Since women teachers are likely to relocate more often than men teachers to meet the demands of their husbands' careers, or at least to experience this as a forced choice situation, the fact that seniority as it relates to job security is not transferable across boards is particularly disadvantageous for women. (This is another area in which there is insufficient data to substantiate fully the differences between women's and men's situations).

The characteristic status of women vis-a-vis the teaching profession is not fully expressed in information drawn from full-time teachers. Unfortunately we have been unable to obtain information about part-time teachers, by sex, but it is clear that the Ontario school system depends to a significant degree upon part-time teaching and upon teachers' aides. In September 1975 there were 7,949 part-time teachers in public schools in Ontario and 13,983 unpaid teachers' aides -- the majority of both these categories can be expected to be women (Table II. 26).

Teaching offers women the advantages of a profession which can be combined with marriage and family. Stokes records that 48% of the FWTAO members in her 1969 sample expected to return to teaching after marriage and child rearing (Stokes, 1971: 15). We do not know how many women teachers leave, spend a few years bringing up their young children to return to part-time teaching in the first place and perhaps eventually to full-time teaching. We suspect the pattern is fairly general and that in fact it has been this possibility which has been part of the attraction of teaching as a profession to women. It is time that this pattern

be more fully recognized as a legitimate professional career. The situation of part-time teachers is particularly problematic when it is viewed as part of a sequence in a professional career since part-time teachers accumulate seniority at the rate of only half-a-year for each year worked. Thus they are continually sliding behind in relation to full-time teachers who have worked the same number of years. Our discussions with teachers on declining enrolment have made it clear that there is a professional career path followed by women teachers. It may be characterized by a specific commitment and professional interest in classroom teaching (though it by no means precludes an interest in promotional opportunities), and combines marriage and family with a genuine career commitment. The image of women's career patterns as deviant, and of women as not serious in their career commitments because they are also serious about their homes and families is in our view very mistaken. Women teachers we have spoken to have made it clear that as part-time teachers they give time, thought, care and skill, beyond the call of duty, and keep up with professional innovations in a fully professional manner. It is time that an alternative version of a professional career for women is addressed and taken seriously.

It is clear that the barriers to recognizing this career commitment and institutionalizing it in the educational system on a basis which does not disadvantage women are on the side of the educational system and not of women. The data showing the relative disadvantages women continue to experience in the older age groups vis-a-vis positions of administrative responsibility indicate that there is a one-sided flexibility favoring men. They disclose the institutionalization of a secondary status. Further there is no reason for considering women's domestic work, particularly in relation to their children, as wholly irrelevant to their profession. On the contrary, women teachers would inform us, if we would listen, of significant gains in their ability to understand and work with children which have come about by virtue of their work in relation to their families.

There is further a lack of institutionalized recognition of the kinds of skills and thought which go into teaching younger age children at

the primary level. There is the view that a natural relation exists between women and young children so that the extent of skill, etc., involved in the teaching process for this age group is not made visible institutionally. The professional work which women do, the exchange of thinking, reading and experience that goes on among women teachers working at the younger levels of elementary schools is not considered in the same light as official conferences, etc.

These aspects of women's teaching work and capacities and professional commitment become available to the educational system in ways which are not fully recognized. They are depreciated institutionally in the secondary status accorded to them. It is, however, just these teachers who become at risk in the changes that have begun to take place over the last few years and which provide the basis on which we will move forward into the future.

TABLE II.1

Teaching Level (Multiple Responses) 1972-77, by Sex
Elementary (Junior Kindergarten)

Province of Ontario: Public Schools

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 212 | 1,114 | 1,326 | 84.0 |
| 1973 - 74 | 517 | 1,254 | 1,771 | 70.8 |
| 1974 - 75 | 544 | 1,319 | 1,863 | 70.8 |
| 1975 - 76 | 73 | 820 | 893 | 91.8 |
| 1976 - 77 | 48 | 754 | 802 | 94.0 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE II.2

Teaching Level (Multiple Responses) 1972-77, by Sex
Elementary (Kindergarten)

Province of Ontario: Public Schools

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 629 | 3,738 | 4,367 | 85.6 |
| 1973 - 74 | 1,731 | 3,899 | 5,630 | 69.3 |
| 1974 - 75 | 1,837 | 3,902 | 5,739 | 68.0 |
| 1975 - 76 | 470 | 2,944 | 3,414 | 86.2 |
| 1976 - 77 | 429 | 2,812 | 3,241 | 86.8 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE II.3

Teaching Level (Multiple Responses) 1972-77, by Sex
Elementary: Primary (Years 1 to 3)

Province of Ontario: Public Schools

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 1,543 | 15,283 | 16,826 | 90.8 |
| 1973 - 74 | 2,896 | 14,262 | 17,158 | 83.1 |
| 1974 - 75 | 2,947 | 13,948 | 16,895 | 82.6 |
| 1975 - 76 | 1,704 | 13,175 | 14,879 | 88.5 |
| 1976 - 77 | 1,801 | 13,139 | 14,940 | 87.9 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE II.4

Teaching Level (Multiple Responses) 1972-77, by Sex
Elementary: Junior (Years 4 to 6)

Province of Ontario: Public Schools

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 6,559 | 11,492 | 18,051 | 63.7 |
| 1973 - 74 | 7,349 | 11,234 | 18,583 | 60.5 |
| 1974 - 75 | 7,393 | 11,061 | 18,454 | 59.9 |
| 1975 - 76 | 6,574 | 9,863 | 16,437 | 60.0 |
| 1976 - 77 | 6,618 | 9,395 | 16,013 | 58.7 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE II.5

Teaching Level (Multiple Responses) 1972-1977, by Sex,
Intermediate Elementary (Years 7 and 8)

Province of Ontario: Public Schools

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 6,996 | 5,858 | 12,854 | 45.6 |
| 1973 - 74 | 7,496 | 5,847 | 13,343 | 43.8 |
| 1974 - 75 | 7,452 | 5,875 | 13,327 | 44.1 |
| 1975 - 76 | 7,440 | 5,488 | 12,928 | 42.5 |
| 1976 - 77 | 7,355 | 5,420 | 12,775 | 42.4 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE II.6

Teaching Level (Multiple Responses) 1972-77, by Sex
Intermediate Secondary (Years 1 and 2)

Province of Ontario: Public Schools

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 19,957 | 9,630 | 29,587 | 32.2 |
| 1973 - 74 | 19,212 | 8,490 | 27,702 | 30.6 |
| 1974 - 75 | 19,477 | 8,568 | 28,045 | 30.6 |
| 1975 - 76 | 20,686 | 9,024 | 29,710 | 30.4 |
| 1976 - 77 | 20,962 | 9,193 | 30,155 | 30.5 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE II.7

Teaching Level (Multiple Responses), by Sex, 1972-77
Senior Secondary (Years 3 and 4)

Province of Ontario: Public Schools

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 19,028 | 8,509 | 27,537 | 30.9 |
| 1973 - 74 | 19,327 | 8,108 | 27,435 | 29.6 |
| 1974 - 75 | 19,482 | 8,092 | 27,574 | 29.3 |
| 1975 - 76 | 19,825 | 8,303 | 28,133 | 29.5 |
| 1976 - 77 | 20,057 | 8,465 | 28,522 | 29.7 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE II.8

Teaching Level (Multiple Responses) 1972-77, by Sex
Senior Secondary (Year 5)

Province of Ontario: Public Schools

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 7,940 | 2,506 | 10,446 | 23.8 |
| 1973 - 74 | 8,799 | 2,561 | 11,360 | 22.5 |
| 1974 - 75 | 8,789 | 2,624 | 11,413 | 23.0 |
| 1975 - 76 | 8,124 | 2,322 | 10,446 | 22.2 |
| 1976 - 77 | 8,087 | 2,366 | 10,453 | 22.6 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE II.9

Teaching Level (Multiple Responses) Elementary and Secondary Public Schools, Percentage of Females, 1972-73 and 1976-77

Province of Ontario

| Teaching Level | 1972-73 % | 1976-77 % |
|---|---|---|
| Senior Secondary (Year 5) | 24 | 23 |
| Senior Secondary (Years 3 and 4) | 31 | 28 |
| Intermediate Secondary (Years 1 and 2) | 33 | 31 |
| Intermediate Elementary (Years 7 and 8) | 46 | 42 |
| Elementary Junior (Years 4 to 6) | 64 | 59 |
| Elementary Primary (Years 1 to 3) | 91 | 88 |
| Elementary Kindergarten | 86 | 87 |
| Elementary Junior Kindergarten | 84 | 94 |

Based on Tables II.1 - II.8

TABLE II.10

Principals by Sex, Elementary Public Schools, 1972-77

Province of Ontario

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 2,426 | 217 | 2,643 | 8.2 |
| 1973 - 74 | 2,363 | 207 | 2,564 | 7.8 |
| 1974 - 75 | 2,389 | 180 | 2,569 | 7.0 |
| 1975 - 76 | 2,394 | 184 | 2,578 | 7.1 |
| 1976 - 77 | 2,397 | 174 | 2,571 | 6.9 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE II.11

Vice-Principals by Sex, Elementary Public Schools, 1972-1977

Province of Ontario

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 1,078 | 134 | 1,212 | 11.0 |
| 1973 - 74 | 1,046 | 128 | 1,247 | 10.3 |
| 1974 - 75 | 1,016 | 141 | 1,157 | 12.2 |
| 1975 - 76 | 1,030 | 158 | 1,188 | 13.3 |
| 1976 - 77 | 1,028 | 178 | 1,206 | 14.9 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE II.12

Principals by Sex, Secondary Public Schools, 1972-1977

Province of Ontario

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 560 | 15 | 575 | 2.6 |
| 1973 - 74 | 545 | 11 | 556 | 2.0 |
| 1974 - 75 | 551 | 9 | 560 | 2.0 |
| 1975 - 76 | 552 | 12 | 562 | 2.0 |
| 1976 - 77 | 552 | 12 | 564 | 2.0 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE II.13

Vice-Principals by Sex, Secondary Public Schools, 1972-1977

Province of Ontario

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 736 | 38 | 774 | 5.0 |
| 1973 - 74 | 724 | 31 | 755 | 4.1 |
| 1974 - 75 | 720 | 33 | 753 | 4.3 |
| 1975 - 76 | 723 | 40 | 763 | 5.2 |
| 1976 - 77 | 743 | 45 | 788 | 5.7 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE II.14

Combined Total of Principals by Sex,
Elementary and Secondary Public Schools, 1972-1977

Province of Ontario

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 2,986 | 232 | 3,218 | 7.2 |
| 1973 - 74 | 2,908 | 218 | 3,126 | 7.0 |
| 1974 - 75 | 2,940 | 189 | 3,129 | 6.4 |
| 1975 - 76 | 2,944 | 196 | 3,140 | 6.2 |
| 1976 - 77 | 2,949 | 186 | 3,135 | 5.9 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE II.15

Combined Total of Vice-Principals by Sex,
Elementary and Secondary Public Schools,
1972-1977

Province of Ontario

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 1,814 | 172 | 1,986 | 8.7 |
| 1973 - 74 | 1,770 | 159 | 1,929 | 8.2 |
| 1974 - 75 | 1,736 | 174 | 1,910 | 9.1 |
| 1975 - 76 | 1,753 | 198 | 1,951 | 10.1 |
| 1976 - 77 | 1,771 | 223 | 1,994 | 11.2 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE II.16

Chairman, Department Head, Assistant Department Head:
Elementary Schools, 1972-1977

Province of Ontario

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 444 | 271 | 715 | 37.9 |
| 1973 - 74 | 453 | 248 | 701 | 35.4 |
| 1974 - 75 | 489 | 270 | 759 | 35.6 |
| 1975 - 76 | 468 | 218 | 686 | 31.8 |
| 1976 - 77 | 480 | 236 | 716 | 33.0 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE II.17

Chairman, Department Head, Assistant Department Head:
Secondary Schools, 1972-1977

Province of Ontario

| Year | Full Time | | Total | (Women's Share) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | | % Women |
| 1972 - 73 | 7,008 | 1,810 | 8,818 | 20.5 |
| 1973 - 74 | 6,642 | 1,585 | 8,227 | 19.2 |
| 1974 - 75 | 6,666 | 1,587 | 8,253 | 18.9 |
| 1975 - 76 | 5,342 | 1,212 | 6,554 | 18.5 |
| 1976 - 77 | 5,357 | 1,261 | 6,618 | 19.0 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE II.18

Categories of Administrative Staff,
Elementary and Secondary, by Numbers of Educational Staff,
and by Sex, 1976-1977

| | All Categories of Administrative Staff | Educational Staff | Educational Staff in Administration % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Elementary | | | |
| Men | 3,905 | 14,438 | 27 |
| Women | 588 | 27,560 | 2 |
| Secondary | | | |
| Men | 6,652 | 24,392 | 27 |
| Women | 1,318 | 10,473 | 13 |
| All | | | |
| Men | 10,557 | 38,830 | 27 |
| Women | 1,906 | 38,033 | 5 |

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE II.19

Degree Qualifications of Elementary School Teachers, in Ontario, 1977

| Degree Held | Men | | Women | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| B.A. | 9,365 | 69.00 | 10,983 | 40.00 |
| M.A. | 915 | 7.00 | 314 | 1.00 |
| Dr. | 4 | .03 | 5 | .02 |
| No Degree | 3,310 | 24.00 | 15,919 | 58.00 |
| Totals | 13,594 | 100.00 | 27,221 | 99.00 |

Source: Education Relations Commission, Teacher Statistics, Table 4, Elementary Schools, July 11, 1977.

TABLE II.20

Combined Total Principals and Vice-Principals,
by Sex and Age, 1976-77

| Age | Men | | Women | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | % of All Men | Number | % of All Women |
| - 29 | 188 | 2.5 | 32 | 0.2 |
| 30 - 39 | 2,764 | 16.2 | 207 | 1.8 |
| 40 - 49 | 1,910 | 22.2 | 276 | 4.6 |
| 50 - 59 | 702 | 18.5 | 192 | 5.5 |
| 60 + | 76 | 13.0 | 53 | 5.9 |

Source: 1) Code Interim Report, Table 6.17 and 6.18
2) Table I.1

TABLE II.21

Age distribution of Elementary Educational Staff
by Age Group and Sex, 1976-77

| Age Group | Men | Cumulative % Men | Women | Cumulative % Women | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| -29 | 4,913 | 34.00 | 12,562 | 45.6 | 17,475 |
| 30-39 | 6,283 | 77.5 | 7,677 | 73.5 | 13,960 |
| 40-49 | 2,312 | 93.5 | 4,294 | 89.1 | 6,606 |
| 50-59 | 755 | 98.7 | 2,324 | 97.5 | 3,079 |
| 60 + | 103 | 99.4 | 627 | 99.7 | 730 |
| Not Reported | 70 | | 77 | | |
| Total | 14,438 | | 27,560 | | 41,998 |

Source: Statistics Canada and CODE Interim Report, Table 6.2

TABLE II.22

Age distribution of Secondary Educational Staff by Age Group and Sex, 1976-77

| Age Group | Men | Cumulative % Men | Women | Cumulative % Women | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| -29 | 2,704 | 10.8 | 2,869 | 25.24 | 5,573 |
| 30-39 | 10,739 | 53.8 | 3,606 | 56.9 | 14,345 |
| 40-49 | 6,275 | 78.9 | 1,738 | 72.2 | 8,013 |
| 50-59 | 3,034 | 91.0 | 1,176 | 82.5 | 4,210 |
| 60+ | 478 | 93.0 | 271 | 84.9 | 749 |
| Not Reported | 1,726 | | 1,706 | | |
| Total | 24,946 | | 11,366 | | 36,312 |

Source: Statistics Canada and CODE Interim Report, Table 6.2

TABLE II.23

Age Distribution of Elementary and Secondary Educational Staff by Age Group and by Sex, 1976-77

| Age Group | Men | Cumulative % Men | Women | Cumulative % Women | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| - 29 | 7,617 | 19.3 | 15,431 | 39.5 | 23,048 |
| 30 - 39 | 17,022 | 62.5 | 11,283 | 68.6 | 28,305 |
| 40 - 49 | 8,587 | 84.3 | 6,032 | 84.1 | 14,619 |
| 50 - 59 | 3,789 | 93.9 | 3,500 | 93.1 | 7,289 |
| 60 + | 581 | 95.4 | 898 | 95.4 | 1,479 |
| Not Reported | 1,796 | | 1,783 | | 3,579 |
| Total | 39,384 | | 38,926 | | 78,310 |

Source: Statistics Canada and CODE Interim Report, Table 6.2

TABLE II.24

New Secondary School Teachers Hired in Ontario

by Sex, September 1967-1976

| Year | Females | Males | Total Number | % Females | % Male |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1966 | 2,015 | 2,722 | 4,737 | 42.5 | 57.5 |
| 1967 | 2,135 | 3,027 | 5,162 | 41.0 | 59.0 |
| 1968 | 2,000 | 2,908 | 4,908 | 40.7 | 58.3 |
| 1969 | 1,961 | 2,764 | 4,725 | 41.5 | 58.5 |
| 1970 | 1,681 | 1,947 | 3,628 | 46.3 | 53.7 |
| 1971 | 1,378 | 1,608 | 2,986 | 46.1 | 53.9 |
| 1972 | 1,038 | 1,185 | 2,223 | 46.7 | 53.5 |
| 1973 | 775 | 912 | 1,687 | 45.9 | 54.1 |
| 1974 | 1,002 | 1,092 | 2,094 | 47.8 | 52.2 |
| 1975 | 1,076 | 1,208 | 2,284 | 47.1 | 52.9 |
| 1976 | 1,013 | 1,144 | 2,157 | 47.0 | 53.0 |

Source: Table 6.28, page 284 and Table 6.29, page 285, Interim CODE Report.

TABLE II.25

Attrition Rates: Percentage of New Secondary Teachers Hired Each Year 1967-74, Still Employed at 3 Years and 5 Years, by Sex

| Year | Still Employed at End of 3 Years | | Still Employed at End of 5 Years | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Women % | Men % | Women % | Men % |
| 1967 - | 41.7 | 72.5 | 30.5 | 66.2 |
| 1968 - | 43.0 | 72.8 | 29.1 | 66.7 |
| 1969 - | 44.7 | 73.6 | 31.2 | 61.6 |
| 1970 - | 44.8 | 66.5 | 33.0 | 58.9 |
| 1971 - | 47.6 | 75.8 | 36.0 | 69.8 |
| 1972 - | 54.7 | 76.9 | 38.5 | |
| 1973 - | 55.0 | 78.9 | | |

Source: Based on CODE Interim Report Tables 6.28 & 6.29

TABLE II.26

Part-Time Teachers, Teachers' Aids Paid and Volunteer

| | Elementary | Secondary | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Part-Time Teachers | 6,676 | 1,273 | 7,949 |
| Paid Teacher Aids | 1,765 | 439 | 2,204 |
| Volunteer Teacher Aids | 13,614 | 369 | 13,983 |

Source: Ontario Ministry of Education, Educational Statistics, Ontario, 1975

## III THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IN THE CANADIAN ECONOMY*

The situation of women teachers is part of an overall pattern of segregation by sex in the labour force. Women are confined generally to a restricted range of occupations and jobs. They generally occupy lower paid, lower status and subordinate positions, often lacking adequate union protection. In their study of women in the Canadian labour force, Armstrong and Armstrong write:

> Within the industry divisions, greater detail reveals more strikingly the concentration of women in the lowest paid sub-divisions. For example, the highest average wages within retail trades can be found in liquor, wine, and beer sales ($121.24), but only 5.8% of the employees here are women. However, almost 73% of the workers in variety store sales are women, and employees here receive the lowest average wages in retail trades ($63.78).
>
> (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978: 27)

The situation of women in employment is secondary in other ways:

> For example, salesmen and salespersons who required some technical knowledge of the products they sold, were 78.2% male, while sales clerks, who did not require such knowledge, were by contrast 34% male. The better paid secondary school teachers were 55.5% male, while elementary and kindergarten teachers were 17.7% male. Only 9.1% of sewing machine operators were male, but 72.6% of the foremen of the broader category in which the operators were much the largest occupation, were male. Even among graduate nurses, 7.2% of the supervisors were male as against 4.2% of those who were supervised.
>
> (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978: 35-36)

The situation is no different for women moving into professional and technical occupations. The segregation is marked and women choose from a very limited range. Surveys of various professions done by the Department of Labour Women's Bureau and published in Women in the Labour Force: Facts and Figures: 1973 showed that men were 90% or more of doctors, dentists, engineers, chartered accountants and lawyers and somewhat over 80% of university teachers. Nursing, social work (excluding the administrative levels, largely appropriated by men)

* Apart from material from Armstrong and Armstrong, data for this section are from a research paper by Connie Taylor.

and teaching have been among the few fields in which women could find opportunities for the exercise of competence at the professional level. Indeed teaching and nursing are among the occupations which contribute significantly to the overall occupational possibilities for women. In 1971 teachers were 6.4% of all women workers and nurses were approximately 4%. Teaching has thus been a significant part of employment opportunities for women in general and not just for women with advanced educational qualifications.

A marked feature of the past few years has been the progressive increase in levels of women's participation in the labour force. Armstrong and Armstrong show that women's rate of participation has more than doubled in Canada over the last thirty years. In 1941 20.7% of women were in the labour force. In 1976 the rate was 45% and women formed over 35% of the total labour force (Table III.1). On a yearly basis since 1972 we can see a steady increase to 46% of the labour force in 1977 (Table III.2). By contrast the participation rates for men fluctuate around 76% to 77%. The participation rates for both women and men in Ontario are higher than in Canada in general, and the same steady increase is apparent for women (Table III.3). In 1977 in Ontario 49.6% of women were active in the labour force.

Among the more marked changes are those of the participation rates for married women. The increase has been considerable. From 1941 to 1971 the percentage of married women working has increased from 4.5% to 33% (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978), (Table III.4). These increases in participation rates among married women do not appear to be associated with marked changes in the division of labour between women and men in the home. Perhaps some of the rigidities of the past have been modified but studies of the distribution of work in the home when women are employed outside indicate that they still assume by far the larger part of the household responsibilities (Meissner et al., 1975). Work outside the home ordinarily means assuming a dual role and responsibilities. It is important to stress that married women do not go out to work for frivolous reasons -- merely for pin money or in these days, a new living room suite. Armstrong and Armstrong among others have emphasized that women's work outside the home is performed on the basis of need. They show a direct and inverse relation between participation rates as family income increases (Armstrong

and Armstrong, 1978: 154). Changes in the participation rates must be seen in relation to changes in the economy and their impact on the family.

The most general development here is an increased need of the family for monetary income, arising from a variety of sources. Inflation makes it hard to attain desired standards or maintain existing standards without increasing the money earnings of family members. At the same time as the purchasing power of the wage has been declining, rents, mortgage payments, the costs of maintaining children in school and post-secondary education, have all made increased monetary demands upon the family. Women's domestic labour in the home can no longer be so effectively substituted for money. It may, for example, now cost more for a housewife to bake her own bread or make clothes for her family than to purchase them. Hence the family economy becomes more exclusively dependent upon money earnings. These are good and sufficient reasons for the changes in labour force participation rates for married women. They cannot be attributed to the women's movement — clearly the change went much further back than that (Table III.4). The women's movement has brought forward women's claims for proper child care while they are at work. It has also given women a sense of the legitimacy of working outside the home. Nevertheless the underlying economic processes appear as the moving force in these changes. We have now a situation in which for many married women, earning a monetary wage of some kind has become part of their family responsibilities.

At the same time as the participation rate among women has increased, so has their rate of unemployment. The unemployment rates for both women and men in Canada and Ontario have risen considerably since 1972. However women have experienced greater increases in unemployment than men. By 1977 the unemployment rate for women across Canada was 9.0% as compared with men's rate of 7.9% (Table III.5). In Ontario the rate for women in 1977 was slightly lower than in Canada in general, 7.9% as compared with 9.0% and the rates for women were 6.1% and 7.9% respectively (Table III.6). Unemployment rates in Ontario are consistently lower than the rates for all of Canada for both women and men for each of the years since 1972. Nevertheless the discrepancy between female and male rates is greater for Ontario in 1977 than for Canada in general. Furthermore the rates for women have increased over the past five years noticeably more than the rates for men. In Ontario, the increase for women was 3.5 percentage points whereas for

men it was 1.0 percentage points. These figures represent a reversal of an historical trend whereby rates of unemployment for women were consistently lower than that of men. Canadian data show that the traditional relation was reversed for the first time in 1976 when the unemployment rate for women exceeded that for men.

Differences in unemployment rates are presumably linked to the fact that increased labour force participation by women feeds into a job market which is still markedly segregated by sex. Indeed Armstrong and Armstrong suggest that on the whole the ghettoization of women's work outside the home has increased rather than decreased (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978).

In times of economic difficulty we find typically two conflicting trends affecting employment opportunities for women. One is the general interest of employers in taking advantage of a relatively low cost segment of the labour force. This means increasing opportunities for women in areas in which labour costs are a fairly high proportion of total costs. Hence we find in this period an expansion of women into finance, insurance and real estate and community services (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978: 26). At the same time there is a tendency to attempt to reduce overall unemployment rates and the cost to the state of unemployment by giving preference to men and in various ways promoting women's dependence upon men's earnings. The latter are the patterns described earlier as a general feature of government, union and popular response to depression. It is important to keep in mind that this dependence on men's earnings is more general than merely the form of dependence in marriage and includes during such periods increases in the numbers of prostitutes. At the same time, of course, as we have seen, more women are seeking paid employment. The actual figures we have are the product of the interaction of such factors. The sometimes contradictory trends exhibited in the data arise, however, out of structural inequities and the institutionalized segregation inhibiting women's access to positions and bottling up an increasing demand for paid employment in a restricted segment of the labour market.

TABLE III.1

Female Labour Force Participation, 1941-1976

| Year | Female Participation Rate % | Female Workers as a % of All Workers | Full-time Female Student as a % of the Female 15-24 Year Age Group | % of Female Population 15 Years and Over that is 65 Years and Over |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1941 | 20.7 | 18.5 | 20.6 | 9.4 |
| 1951 | 24.0 | 22.0 | 21.3 | 11.1 |
| 1961 | 29.5 | 27.3 | 32.2 | 12.0 |
| 1971 | 39.9 | 14.6 | 43.5 | 12.6 |
| 1976[a] | 45.0 | 37.4 | n.a. | 12.5 |

[a]Because the Labour Force Survey definition of the Labour Force differs somewhat from that of the Census, the 1976 figures are not strictly comparable to those of earlier years. The continued upward trend in female participation during the most recent five-year period is nonetheless unmistakeable.

Sources: Calculated from 1941 Census, Vol. III, Tables 1 and 44; 1951 Census, Vol. II, Table 24; 1961 Census, Vol. 1.3, Table 99, and Labour Force: Occupation and Industry Trends (Cat. 94-551), Tables 1 and 2; 1971 Census, Vol. 1.2, Table 7, and Vol. 15, Table I, and Vol. 3.1, Table 2. The 1976 figures are calculated from The Labour Force (Cat 71-001), December 1976.

From: Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978, Table 1

TABLE III.2

The Participation Rate of Women and Men
In the Labour Force, Canada (1972-1977)

| Year | Participation Rate | |
|---|---|---|
| | Women | Men |
| 1972 | 37.1 | 76.2 |
| 1973 | 38.7 | 76.8 |
| 1974 | 39.7 | 77.3 |
| 1975 | 40.9 | 77.2 |
| 1976 | 44.4 | 76.1 |
| 1977 | 46.0* | 76.4** |

*This represents an 8.9% increase in participation for women since 1972.

**This represents a .2% increase in participation for men since 1972.

Source: Original statistics compiled from Statistics Canada sources as follows:

i) Participation Rates, 1972-1975: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December, 1975. Catalogue 71-001, Table 13, "Participation Rates and Unemployment Rates by Sex and Region."

ii) Participation rates, 1976: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December, 1976. Catalogue 71-001, Table 15, "Participation Rates by Province, Age and Sex."

iii) Participation rates, 1977: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December, 1977. Catalogue 71-001, Table 9, "Participation Rates by Province, Age and Sex."

TABLE III.3

The Participation Rate of Women and Men
In the Labour Force, Ontario (1972-1977)

| Year | Participation Rates | |
|---|---|---|
| | Women | Men |
| 1972 | 40.3 | 78.3 |
| 1973 | 41.6 | 78.4 |
| 1974 | 43.0 | 78.8 |
| 1975 | 44.4 | 78.6 |
| 1976 | 48.7 | 77.9 |
| 1977 | 49.6* | 78.7** |

*This represents a 9.3% increase in participation for women since 1972.

**This represents a .4% increase in participation for men since 1972.

Source: Original statistics compiled from Statistics Canada sources as follows:

i) Participation Rates, 1972-1975: Statistics Canada. The Labour Force, December, 1975. Catalogue 71-001, Table 13, "Participation Rates and Unemployment Rates by Sex and Region."

ii) Participation rates, 1976: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December, 1976. Catalogue 71-001, Table 15, "Participation Rates by Province, Age and Sex."

iii) Participation rates, 1977: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December, 1977. Catalogue 71-001, Table 9, "Participation Rates by Province, Age and Sex."

TABLE III.4

Women's Labour Force Participation by Marital Status, 1941-1971

| Year | Participation Rate of Married Women % | Participation Rate of Single Women % | Marital Status of Female Workers Single % | Married % | Other % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1941 | 4.5 | 50.0 | 80.0 | 12.7 | 7.3 |
| 1951 | 11.2 | 58.4 | 62.1 | 30.0 | 7.9 |
| 1961 | 20.8 | 54.9 | 42.5 | 47.3 | 10.2 |
| 1971 | 33.0 | 53.5 | 34.4 | 56.7 | 9.0 |

For 1941 and 1951, separated women are included with married women, while for 1961 and 1971 they are included in the "Other" category, that is along with widows and divorced women.

Sources: For 1941 and 1951, Canada, Ministere du Travail, Division de la main-d'oeuvre feminine, La Femme Canadienne au Travail (Publication No. 1), Ottawa: Imprimeur de la Reine, 1957, pp. 10 and 13. For 1961 and 1971, Canada, Labour Canada, Women's Bureau, Women in the Labour Force 1971: Facts and Figures, Tables 9 and 10.

From Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978, Table 20

TABLE III.5

Unemployment Rate by Sex, Canada (1972-1977)

| Year | Unemployment Rate (Unadjusted) | |
|---|---|---|
| | Women | Men |
| 1972 | 5.3 | 6.8 |
| 1973 | 5.1 | 5.9 |
| 1974 | 4.9 | 5.7 |
| 1975 | 6.4 | 7.4 |
| 1976 | 8.1 | 6.9 |
| 1977 | 9.0* | 7.9** |

*This represents a 3.7% increase since 1972.

**This represents a 1.1% increase since 1972.

Source: Original statistics compiled from Statistics Canada sources as follows:

i) Unemployment rates, 1972-1975: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December, 1975. Catalogue 71-001, Table 13, "Participation Rates and Unemployment Rates by Sex and Region."

ii) Unemployment rates, 1976: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December, 1976. Catalogue 71-001, Table 30, "Unemployment Rates by Province, Age and Sex."

iii) Unemployment rates, 1977: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December, 1977. Catalogue 71-001, Table 30, "Unemployment Rates by Province, Age and Sex."

TABLE III.6

Unemployment Rate by Sex, Ontario (1972-1977)

| Year | Unemployment Rate (Unadjusted) | |
|---|---|---|
| | Women | Men |
| 1972 | 4.4 | 5.1 |
| 1973 | 4.0 | 4.1 |
| 1974 | 4.3 | 4.0 |
| 1975 | 6.0 | 6.0 |
| 1976 | 7.2 | 5.7 |
| 1977 | 7.9* | 6.1** |

*This represents a 3.5% increase since 1972.

**This represents a 1.0% increase since 1972.

Source: Original statistics compiled from Statistics Canada sources as follows:

i) Unemployment rates, 1972-1975: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December, 1975. Catalogue 71-001, Table 13, "Participation Rates and Unemployment Rates by Sex and Region."

ii) Unemployment rates, 1976: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December, 1976. Catalogue 71-001, Table 30, "Unemployment Rates by Province, Age and Sex."

iii) Unemployment rates, 1977: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December, 1977. Catalogue 71-001, Table 30, "Unemployment Rates by Province, Age and Sex."

## IV ONE-SIDED DESEGREGATION

Changes in the relative situation of women and men teachers have been going on for a number of years. They are changes which have tended towards a decline in the relatively high proportion of women teachers. In 1941 in Canada women were 74.6% of teachers and by 1971 they were 66% (Table IV.1). Our data from 1972-73 for Ontario shows a more marked and rapid change from 1972-73 when women were 52% of teachers to 1976-77 when they were 49% (Table I.1). Though the overall numbers of teachers in Ontario increased very slightly (+195) between 1972 and 1977 there was an increase of 2,057 men teachers and a decrease of 1,862 women teachers (Table IV.2). Over a five year period this is a rather significant shift. The overall figure of 49% women for 1977 announces that finally teaching in Ontario is no longer a predominately female profession. As we begin to look further into the character of the change that lies behind the data, we shall see a second and more disturbing trend. This is one which other observers have noted. Gross for example found for the United States:

> (a) reduction in segregation, which seems to be accomplished by men entering the female occupations, rather than the reverse.
>
> (Gross, 1968)

In this context such a change tends to modify the internally segregated profession in such a way that barriers preventing men from competing for the range of positions formerly allocated by convention to women are broken down, but they are not broken down reciprocally. A larger range of positions becomes available to men while the range available to women does not open up. If anything it becomes narrower.

Strong affirmative action initiatives which Boards of Education and the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario have launched in the last few years appear to have had some impact and there are indications of an opening up of the barriers in the other direction, but they are too recent to result in more than minor modifications as yet to an overall picture of increased marginalization of women teachers.

Let us remind the reader again of the different ways in which existing inequalities may become the basis of increased inequality. We are not trying to treat everything as a pattern of discrimination, but to focus on changes which are consequential in the context of inequalities already established. In the teaching profession the internally segregated pattern we have described earlier tends to concentrate women at less advanced levels of the school system. Hence the effects of declining enrolment hits first that section of the internally segregated structure in which women predominate. Declining enrolments already began to have their impact on the school system in Ontario in the early 1970's. Their effects moved upward in the school system, first affecting the younger grades, then the older -- for example Table II.1 illustrates the pronounced changes in numbers of teaching assignments at the junior kindergarten level. In 1972-73 the numbers of assignments at this level were 1,114 whereas in 1977 they were down to 754. The consequences are visible in the overall decline in numbers of educational staff at the elementary level which contrasts with an increase in the secondary school educational staff during the same period (Table IV.4-IV.6). The elementary school has contributed the greatest part of the changing proportions of women and men teachers. From 1972-73 to 1976-77 women have lost ground significantly in the elementary school system. In 1976-77 there were 1,862 fewer women educational staff in elementary public schools than in 1972-73 (Table IV.4)

However these changes cannot be related in a simple way to declining enrolment. The same set of figures shows a marked <u>increase</u> in the numbers of men teachers at the elementary level for the same period. Behind an overall decline in the numbers of elementary school educational staff, there are substantial divergences in what is happening to women and men. Whereas the numbers of women teachers have declined, the numbers of men teachers have increased by 1,261 from 1972-73 to 1976-77 (Table IV.4). Moreover a reduction in numbers of children at the younger grades does not automatically result in staff reductions among those teaching at that level. If standard seniority principles are followed it should result in a redistribution of teachers to other grade levels. For women this type of redistribution may be partially restricted at the elementary level by the relatively high proportion of women elementary school teachers lacking bachelor's degrees. Nevertheless we cannot view the marked differences in what has happened to men and women teachers as a simple product of declining enrolment.

Other things have been happening. There has indeed been an explicit concern to introduce more men into the elementary school system as classroom teachers. The view has been put forward that children at this age, particularly boys, need a male role model in the school setting. This need has also been linked to the general increase in the numbers of single parent (predominantly single mother) families. More recently too the concept of discrimination on the basis of sex has been applied to elementary school teaching. Introducing more men into elementary teaching has been argued for on the basis of the high proportion of women teachers at that level. Note however that when we view the school system as a whole, the preponderance of women at the elementary level appears in a different light. It is in fact a part of the internally segregated structure of the profession.

The one-sided process of desegregation can be seen in the fact that the same arguments can be applied to women's situation in secondary schools but have had no visible effect on their relative share of positions at that level. Are not more women teachers needed at the secondary school level as role models for girls? Is there not a visible predominance of men at the secondary level which should be modified? These arguments have not been as effective for women at the secondary level as they have apparently been for men in moving into elementary school teaching. We see no parallel advances for women in secondary schools. If anything women's share of secondary school teaching has declined somewhat since 1972-73 (Table I.4). The process of change is not a reciprocal opening-up. It is one-sided. Arguments recommending a greater share of elementary school teaching for men and hence increasing the overall range of positions available to men seem to have had some effect. Similar arguments favouring women's increased access to positions in secondary school teaching apparently are not consequential. The proportion of men versus women hired into the secondary school system has changed little. There has indeed been a slight increase in the proportion of women hired at the secondary level from 42.5% in 1966 to 47% in 1976, but the total number hired has been more than halved (Table II. 24). A slightly bigger share of a great deal less does not create equality.

Other figures suggest that the cycling-through process described above (Section II. part 4) has been slightly retarded. There has been an increase in the proportion of those women hired each year still employed at the end of 3 years (Table II.25). Yet women's share of total attrition increased from from 1967 to 1973. Of those hired in 1967, a total of 1924 men and women

teachers were no longer employed at the end of 3 years. Of these 61% were women. Of those hired in 1973 at the secondary level, 542 were no longer employed at the end of 3 years as teachers. Of these 64% were women (CODE Interim Report, Tables 6.29 and 6.30). No attempt to balance the relative position of women and men at the secondary level is visible in these figures. If anything they suggest that the tendency for women's share to decline (Table 1.3) is likely to continue.

The internal segregation allocating to women a primarily classroom role in teaching suggests another dimension of one-sided change. As men compete with women for positions which were previously by convention largely women's, women tend to be pushed into a more marginal relation. Their secondary status is intensified. This process can be seen in the changes in women's share of administrative positions, particularly at the elementary level. As a result of administrative reorganization in the Ontario school system, there has been an overall decline of 37 in the number of principalships since 1972-73 (Table IV.9). Stokes pointed out for an earlier period that increased concentration of schools and the corresponding decline in numbers of smaller schools meant a decline in the number of women principals (Stokes, 1971). We can see a parallel effect here. Women's share of principal's positions has decreased from 7.2% to 4.7%.

One interesting change in the opposite direction has been the increase in numbers and percentage of women vice-principals. The numbers of vice-principals who are women has increased by 51 since 1972-73; the number of men have declined by 43 (Table IV.10); and women's overall percentage share of such positions has risen from 10.5% to 11.2% (Table IV.8). Much of this change has been at the elementary level and it is hard not to associate this difference with the affirmative action initiatives of the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario. However the difference here is still quite small and even in 1976-77 women vice-principals at the elementary level are still only 14.9% of the total (Table II.11).

Vice-principal positions have been a base from which teachers have moved to the position of principal. Increases in numbers of women vice-principals mean therefore increased possibility of promotion. This however must be seen in the light of the overall decrease in numbers of principal positions representing a decline in promotional opportunities.

Changes over the last five years can also be seen in the distribution of women's teaching assignments. These represent the differentiated role structure by which women teach more at lower age levels in the school system. When we compared the figures for 1972-73 with those for 1976-77, we can see the effect of the decline overall in women's share of teaching positions (Table II.9). Even when we differentiate elementary and secondary panels, the decline is not evenly distributed. Comparison between five years ago and the most recent figures indicates a structural trend. The bunching of women's assignments at the kindergarten and primary levels is more marked in 1976-77 and it is combined with a fairly marked decrease in their share of teaching assignments at the junior and primary levels. Women's share of elementary junior levels decreased by 5 percentage points, but their share of kindergarten and junior kindergarten increased by 2 and 6 percentage points respectively. As men move into elementary teaching, they appear to be moving in a way which accords them a greater share of more advanced levels. Furthermore promotional opportunities tend to depend on experience in more than one division, so that changes restricting women's access to varying grade levels, also restrict the pool of women who are potentially promotable.

The trends identified here are mixed to some degree and they are only trends. The statistical data 'mark' a process of one-sided desegregation. Men move increasingly into areas previously by convention identified with women. Women are not found to be moving in complementary fashion into positions previously identified with men. In only one area was this pattern broken, and that is with respect to the position of vice-principal. We have also seen that these processes are the outcome of a number of factors and cannot be simply identified as discrimination. Their outcomes, however, are just as consequential for women teachers as if they were. What we have described is at this point a tendency only towards a one-sided pattern of desegregation. The presence of counteracting changes is important and encouraging. It suggests the importance of taking the long-run consequences for women teachers into careful account in how the Ontario government, school boards and teachers' federations respond to the problem of declining enrolment.

TABLE IV.1

Women as Percent of Teachers, Canada, 1941-71

| Year | Women % |
|---|---|
| 1941 | 74.6 |
| 1951 | 72.5 |
| 1961 | 70.7 |
| 1971 | 66.0 |

Source: Adapted from Armstrong and Armstrong: 1978, Table 6 and 7

TABLE IV.2

Total Educational Staff, Elementary and Secondary, Differences in Numbers, 1972-73 and 1976-77, by Sex

| Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|
| +2,057 | -1,862 | +195 |

TABLE IV.3

Classroom Teachers, Elementary and Secondary, Differences in Numbers, 1972-73 and 1976-77, by Sex

| Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|
| +3,268 | -1,095 | +2,173 |

TABLE IV.4

Total Educational Staff, Elementary,
Differences in Numbers, 1972-73 and 1976-77, by Sex

| Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|
| +1,261 | -1,562 | -301 |

TABLE IV.5

Classroom Teachers, Elementary,
Differences in Numbers, 1972-73 and 1976-77, by Sex

| Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|
| +1,365 | -1,322 | +43 |

TABLE IV.6

Total Educational Staff, Secondary,
Differences in Numbers, 1972-73 and 1976-77, by Sex

| Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|
| +796 | -300 | +496 |

TABLE IV.7

Classroom Teachers, Secondary,
Differences in Numbers, 1972-73 and 1976-77, by Sex

| Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|
| +1,903 | +227 | +2,130 |

Sources for Tables IV.2 - IV.7 are from Tables I.1 - I.6 above.

TABLE IV.8

Total Principals and Vice-Principals,
Elementary and Secondary, and Women's Share,
1972-73 and 1976-77

| Year | Principal | | | Vice-Principal | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Women | % Women | Total | Women | % Women |
| 1972-73 | 3,218 | 232 | 7.2 | 1,986 | 172 | 10.6 |
| 1976-77 | 3,135 | 186 | 5.9 | 1,994 | 223 | 11.2 |

TABLE IV.9

Principals, Elementary and Secondary,
Differences in Numbers, 1972-73 and 1976-77, by Sex

| Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|
| -37 | -46 | -83 |

TABLE IV.10

Vice-Principals, Elementary and Secondary,
Differences in Numbers, 1972-73 and 1976-77, by Sex

| Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|
| -43 | +51 | +8 |

Sources for Tables IV.8 - IV.10 are Tables II.10-II.15

## V WOMEN TEACHERS AND THREE MAIN AREAS OF CHANGE

Declining school enrolment are beginning to have implications for three main areas of the educational system. Two of these areas are educational administration and curriculum. The third involves the training and assignment of teachers within the system based on a new Ontario-wide teacher certification scheme. In this section, changes in educational administration and curriculum are outlined in relation to Dr. Jackson's proposals and then discussed with reference to the implications these proposals would be likely to have for women teachers. The new teacher certification scheme is described and probable implications for all teachers in Ontario, and in particular for women teachers, are drawn.

### 1. Changes in Educational Administration: Consequences for Women

The Jackson Commission's Interim Report points out that a great potential for eliminating costs exists through the implementation of a decentralized administrative structure with a corresponding reduction in administrative staff at the local board level. There is a tendency for medium size school boards to be most efficient in terms of service relative to cost. "It is the larger boards which have the highest administrative staff-pupil ratios and the highest cost per pupil" (CODE Interim Report: page 234). Disproportionately large central office staffs, although costly, have been required by large school boards in order to carry out essential co-ordination of management and services. Large school districts and boards have tended to develop "tall" administrative organizations with many levels of authority between the lowest level of the organization and the highest, compared to smaller boards which have tended to develop "flat" administrations with few levels (CODE: page 228). A marked increase in the number of large school boards (with the consequential growth of disproportionately large local educational administrations) took place in 1969 when school districts across the province were consolidated. The 3,676 school boards which existed in Ontario in 1960 were reorganized into 1,490 boards by 1967 (CODE REPORT: page 227).

The CODE Interim Report cites a study prepared originally in 1973 for the McCarthy Commission on the Costs of Education. It identifies co-ordinators, consultants, clerks and secretaries as having the highest cost ratios compared to other categories of administrative personnel such as senior academic and business officials (CODE: page 234-235). Dr. Jackson makes reference to one form of administrative organization used by some large boards which may serve to reduce the number of high cost ratio personnel. This organizational form called the "family of schools" operates in some sense as a self-contained school system. A "family of schools" structure is likely to operate in a less formal mode, encouraging teachers to assume a number of non-teaching functions at little cost to the local board, given the fact that teachers salaries are not directly tied to hours worked. For example, the Interim Report identifies a need for low-cost professional development experiences and points to a cooperative model developed by the Ontario Council for Leadership in Educational Administration (OCLEA), as one form to be pursued. The OCLEA model consists of short-term seminars and workshops led by a variety of experts who have agreed to donate their time. This model results in conference expenditures of approximately one third of those which normally would have been required had all the instructors been paid at normal rates (CODE: page 247). Thus, one can expect that tasks previously allocated to "specialists" at the administrative level will increasingly be assigned to non-administrators (teachers) at greatly reduced cost.

In addition, the Interim Report points to a major shift in educational decision making patterns from a highly centralized style prevalent before 1969 to a collaborative style, involving many top administrators, after 1969 (CODE: page 236). Many teachers we have spoken with while undertaking this research have noted a parallel increase of teacher input into educational decision making. The new collaborative decision making style requires teachers to perform functions which were once almost entirely done by administrators and, in turn, increases time demands made on teachers without the benefit of additional monetary compensation received by administrators. Clerical and secretarial functions, also identified as having comparatively high cost ratios, could be legitimized as a standard segment of a professional teacher's work commitment even more readily than administrative functions.

Indeed, clerical and secretarial functions approximate much of the work a teacher already does and the assumption of an increased workload in this area would not be immediately visible to those outside the school. As well, in our discussions with teachers, we have noted that women teachers often tend to have prior training or experience in a number of clerical/ secretarial skills and it seems likely that women teachers would assume a larger proportion of such tasks than would men teachers.

Two main consequences for teachers would arise out of these administrative changes. First, a truncated career path would become normative for teachers. As administrative positions are reduced opportunities for promotion will become severely limited, the talents of many individuals will be under-utilized and the system will risk stagnation. Some boards have already recognized these difficulties and are pressing for term appointments (likely limited to five years) in the case of new appointments to such positions as vice principal, principal, consultant, coordinator, department head, etc. However, if term appointments are implemented a significant morale problem is likely to develop upon return to classroom teaching after an administrative term given the more restricted nature of teaching duties, blocked career aspirations and a probable reduction in salary. On the other hand, more teachers would be provided with the opportunity of an administrative experience.

If term appointments, or other administrative procedures which provide for an increase in promotional opportunities, are not widely implemented the career situation of women teachers will look particularly bleak. Women are already declining in representation at most administrative levels. For example, women's share of principalships, comparing 1972 to 1976, has declined in both the elementary and secondary panels in Ontario, demonstrating a reduction from 8.2% to 6.9% in the elementary system, and from 2.6% to 2.1% in the secondary system (FWTAO Brief to CODE: Table VI, page 62 and Table V, page 59, respectively). While an increase in vice-principalships has occurred for women at the elementary level, women's share of vice-principal positions at the secondary level has declined from 6.9% to 5.7% in this same period (FWTAO Brief: Table V, page 59). Unless some major modifications are made in local promotional systems, it seems women are likely to continue to have their representation in administration eroded based on seniority differentials between men and women and on increased

competition for a smaller number of positions which tends to operate in the favour of male candidates.

The second main consequence of administrative changes noted in the Interim Report is a decline in "specialization of function" which is likely to result in a general deterioration of the status of teachers vis-a-vis their work roles. As a teacher's role becomes less clearly defined in relation to the intellectual development of students and becomes diffused across quasi-administrative and possibly clerical and secretarial functions, many teachers may find much of their time occupied with routine, non-teaching functions. This tendency could lead to a de-professionalization of the teaching profession and a general downgrading of the status of teachers.

In fact, to the extent that de-professionalization of teaching occurs and truncated career paths become normative, one would expect women to maintain and perhaps even increase their share of the teaching profession in Ontario. Dead end occupations (even "professions") are usually dominated by women when men are provided with other occupational opportunities. A re-feminization of teaching in Ontario is probable if other attractive employment opportunities become available to men in the context of a stimulated Canadian economy. As long as our economy remains depressed it is likely that men will continue to invade the teaching profession in large numbers.

## 2. Curriculum Changes and Implications for Women

Ontario's philosophy of education has traditionally valued the concept of equal opportunity for all. On this basis, curriculum in Ontario has attempted to meet a broad range of goals and objectives in each of the four divisions (primary, junior, intermediate and senior). The curriculum has attempted to provide children with a wide variety of subject choices in order to meet their individual needs and abilities. Throughout the history of education in Ontario there has been a trend toward continual broadening of the curriculum in an attempt to meet increasingly diverse needs.

However, in light of cutbacks on educational spending and declining school enrolment, two changes are emerging in educational philosophy. First, there appears to be a tendency to question whether it is still possible to offer individuals a wide variety of curriculum alternatives. Second, the quality of curriculum is seen as problematic when the educational system attempts to satisfy a variety of curriculum goals within a given period of instructional time. The Interim Report suggests a possible narrowing of the range of options offered to students. If this is not done, the quality of education may deteriorate since less instructional time may be devoted to each subject as a smaller number of teachers in a given school attempt to offer the full range of curriculum.

Some new trends can begin to be identified. An increasing emphasis will be placed on the teaching of basic subjects by reducing or eliminating "extras" such as art, music, primary French immersion, family studies, drama, English as a second language, etc. An increase in the number of split grades or multi-grade classes is likely to occur, placing an increasing demand on teachers. It is also probable that pressure to increase pupil-teacher ratios, thereby increasing class size and the workload of teachers will intensify. Teachers will also be increasingly called on to take part in local professional development activities related to curriculum if, as we expect, curriculum consultants are reduced in number. Members of local communities who are skilled in specific subject areas such as art, drama, etc. will be increasingly called upon to donate their services to schools to fill in the gaps in school programs. This voluntary expertise is more likely to be available in middle class communities than in working class communities.

Specifically, the number of teachers who teach "extras" may be drastically reduced. The Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario point out in their brief to the Commission of Declining Enrolment that some administrators have used the plea of declining enrolment as an "excuse for reducing staff, when the real intention is to increase class size" (FWTAO Brief: page 8). In addition to this very real possibility is an increase in the heterogenity of classes as special programs, particularly those related to compensatory education, are reduced. Both of these possibilities could result in a marked increase in the workload of classroom teachers.

The Interim Report proposes two alternatives for change in the development of curriculum. First, local school boards may have to assume responsibility for much of curriculum development. As curriculum consultants are reduced, principals might be expected to act as curriculum managers in developing curriculum in cooperation with teaching staffs. However, the Commission implies that teacher involvement in local curriculum development may be unlikely since teachers will experience an increase in their workload in other areas. The second alternative is also based on the assumption that curriculum consultants will be reduced. This model would centralize curriculum development at the Ministry of Education and would result in increasing government control over the educational system.

What are the implications of these curriculum trends for women teachers? A reduction in the number of local curriculum consultants would reduce promotion possibilities for women in particular since these positions have tended to be ones which women have been able to obtain in significant numbers. The increased workload resulting from an overall reduction in teaching staff is also likely to be a particular burden for women since women predominate as regular classroom teachers. For example, in the elementary panel, 71.2% of classroom teachers in 1976-77 were women (FWTAO Brief to CODE: Table 11(a), page 53).

A number of other suggestions made in the CODE Interim Report are likely to affect women and men teachers differently. Tables V.1 to V.3 inclusive illustrate a general tendency for women and men teachers to be differentially located in subject areas. For example, of those secondary school teachers who report that their first subject specialty is "library," 69.5% are women and only 30.5% are men.(Table V.2). In addition, Table V.3 demonstrates that 14.4% of all women who teach in the secondary schools report that their first subject specialty is French or another language (excluding English) compared to 6.3% of the men. Unfortunately we have not been able to obtain accurate figures related to the teaching specialties of women and men teachers in the elementary schools.

The general approach to curriculum change taken in the CODE Interim Report suggests that "extras" such as library and some second language programs may be reduced or eliminated in some divisions. Dr. Jackson suggests that

librarian positions could be reduced or eliminated in the Primary and Junior Divisions. It also states that total French and English programs and bilingual schools could be eliminated at the Intermediate level. If this general philosophy is extended to other divisions the net result, based on data available on subject specialties in the secondary schools, would probably be more disruptive to women teachers than to men.

We are unable at this time to determine the impact of possible curriculum changes on men and women teachers since other factors may intervene and result in different consequences. For example, at least one Board of Education has decided to protect programs which they feel are essential to the quality of education they provide for their students. These "protected programs" (protected from elimination) include such programs as French, Home Economics, Industrial Arts, Library, Music, Swimming and Special Education. Women teachers may tend to predominate in many of these subject areas. If so, they may be quite positively affected by the provisions made for protected programs. In spite of lack of comprehensive information it does appear that men and women are likely to be affected differently by curriculum changes and that many of these changes are likely to work to the disadvantage of women.

## 3. The Ontario Teacher's Certification

### a) Introduction

On July 1, 1978 a new system of teacher certification, governing the certification of all teachers in the province of Ontario, came into effect. A proposed revision of Regulation 191 Made Under The Education Act, 1974 was prepared and Section 20 of this proposal, "Qualifications of Teachers," specified the general guidelines to be adhered to under the new teacher certification plan.

This proposed regulation makes reference to two new documents which will be issued to every teacher in Ontario by the Ministry of Education during the next two years. These documents are an Ontario Teacher's Certificate and an Ontario Teacher's Qualifications Record Card. The Ontario Teacher's

Certificate will signify that a teacher has completed a recognized teacher education program and is qualified to teach in the schools of the province. The Ontario Teacher's Qualifications Record Card will be a statement of all of the teacher's approved professional qualifications. Each time a teacher's qualifications are upgraded a new record card will be issued. Thus, one document showing all the approved professional qualifications held by an individual teacher will replace the great variety of certificates previously issued. An "Ontario Teacher's Qualifications Manual" which will provide detailed information about the new system is being prepared by the Ministry of Education and will be available by September, 1978 (Memorandum from G.H. Waldrum, Deputy Minister of Education, June 2, 1978).

The new teacher certification scheme, implemented in accordance with revised Regulation 191 (awaiting approval) and Regulation 407 (recently approved), will have many general implications for teachers across Ontario. However, it is also clear that the consequences of the implementation of this scheme will be differentially borne by women and men teachers. This differential impact emerges out of those aspects of our social organization which have fostered the development of a bifurcate career structure for women and men in education. That is, the career patterns of men and women are viewed as separate and intrinsically different. Thus, we are able to begin to identify some of the probable differential consequences for women and men teachers by examining those differences related to sex which are revealed in the distinct statistical profiles of women and men teachers in Ontario.

b) The Basic Changes and General Implications

Four essential changes are outlined in the proposed revision of Regulation 191. They are summarized as follows:

1) Every teacher qualified to teach in Ontario will hold the same basic certificate -- the Ontario Teacher's Certificate.

2) Every teacher shall be assigned or appointed to teach according to a qualification recorded on his or her Ontario Teacher's Qualifications Record Card.

3) A teacher who is qualified to teach in the primary division, junior division, intermediate division (general studies) or the senior division (general studies) may, "by mutual agreement of the teacher and the principal of a school, with the approval of the Board and with due regard for the safety and welfare of the pupils and the provision of the best possible program, be assigned or appointed to teach in a division or a subject in general studies for which no qualification is recorded on his Ontario Teacher's Qualifications Record Card" (Proposed revision of Regulation 191, Section 20, (3)).

4) The "mutual agreement" allowed in (3) above will not be permitted relevant to the teaching of subjects in general studies in a secondary school unless the teacher to be assigned or appointed holds an acceptable university degree or will be teaching in an occupations program.

The implications of these changes for the educational system are significant and far reaching. The OTC standardizes teacher certification -- overcoming the fact that many different routes (varying in time requirements, entrance requirements, level and focus of the teacher training program) will result in receipt of the same certificate. The new certificate system supports the Kindergarten to Grade 13 perspective adopted by the Ministry of Education and further integrates the elementary and secondary panels across Ontario. At first glance it seems that less differentiation among teachers will occur -- since they will all hold the same standard teaching certificate. However, exactly the opposite will be true. Differentiation among teachers will be increased on the basis of the qualifications recorded on the Ontario Teacher's Qualifications Record Card -- with particular reference to qualifications by division (primary, junior, intermediate or senior) and subject of concentration. For example, a teacher who has completed the typical elementary school teacher education program would be qualified to teach in the primary and junior divisions and in grades 7 and 8 only of the intermediate division without invoking the "mutual agreement" clause. A teacher who has completed the typical secondary school teacher education program would be qualified to teach grades 9 and 10 only of the intermediate division and in the senior division without invoking the "mutual agreement" clause. In reality, vertical mobility across divisions and panels will be more closely regulated than it has been in the past.

Teaching assignments or appointments will become more directly related to specific qualifications held by the teacher and recorded on the TQRC according to division and subject of concentration. That is, teaching assignments will become more "subject specific" and "division specific." This new emphasis on particularized qualifications which conform to an individual's teaching assignment will serve as an impetus for many teachers to bring their qualifications into agreement with their preferred or present teaching assignment. This will likely result in the development of a number of new teacher education courses as well as in an increase in participation on the part of teachers in such programs as they attempt to maintain their teaching assignments or to broaden their available employment options.

Mobility across the panels will be facilitated by this standardized certification system. However, in practice, it will function like a one way corridor -- allowing significant movement from the secondary to the elementary panel with very little movement in the opposite direction. Entry to the secondary panel for many elementary teachers has been blocked by the requirement that any teacher of general studies in a secondary school must hold an acceptable university degree, with the exception of those teaching occupations programs. <u>This requirement cannot be waived by any mutual agreement clause</u>. Therefore, although it is permissible under the proposed revision of Regulation 191 for a teacher who has received secondary teacher training to be assigned to teach in the elementary panel without further training on the basis of the mutual agreement clause it is <u>not permissible</u> for a teacher who has received elementary teacher training to be assigned to teach in the secondary schools (except in an occupations program) without an acceptable university degree.

The one-way direction of teacher mobility is underscored when one considers that no barriers are placed in the way of secondary teachers in occupations programs who wish to receive teaching appointments in the elementary schools and are able to secure such assignments by mutual agreement without undertaking any additional training. These differences in the constraints placed on the mobility of one set of qualified teachers as compared to another results in the experience of differential flexibility on the part of elementary and secondary teachers. It is also on this basis that we can begin to examine the probable consequences of the new certification system for women as opposed to men teachers.

c) The Implications for Women and Men Teachers

Tables II.19 and V.4, "Degree Qualifications of Elementary School Teachers in Ontario, 1977" and "Degree Qualifications of Secondary School Teachers in Ontario, 1977" illustrate several important measures of difference between women and men teachers. It is chiefly because such marked differences in qualifications exist for women and men teachers that the new certification system will be experienced differently by each sex.

The greatest single measure of difference relates to B.A. degrees held by teachers in the elementary panel. 69% of male elementary teachers have B.A. degrees whereas only 40% of female elementary teachers have B.A. degrees. While 24% of the men do not hold a degree, 58% of the women have no degree (Table II.19). These factors are related to the bifurcate career structure of women and men teachers. It has been appropriate for women teachers to hold positions primarily as classroom teachers and to focus their career aspirations within the classroom setting. Conversely, it has been appropriate for men to aspire to and hold positions within educational administration. Therefore, the acquiring of a B.A. degree has been an essential prerequisite for men in the realization of their career goals while it has not been so for women.

This established pattern is being challenged by the introduction of the OTC and the OTQRC in that the career mode of men, with a typical emphasis on formal qualifications, is given further validation and significance for flexibility related to teaching assignment. Women teachers without B.A. degrees will be at a serious disadvantage in relation to their flexibility across divisions. A contracting of teaching options available to women is also probable on the basis of subject area. Men tend to enrol in a broader range of degree programs than do women. For example, in 1972 31% of full-time male undergraduates in Canada were enroled in Arts programs compared to 44.5% of full-time female undergraduates. Similarly, 19.3% of male undergraduates were enroled in Science compared to 11.3% of female undergraduates and 10.1% of males were enroled in Commerce and Business Administration compared to 2.8% of females

Cook, 1976: Table 3.2, page 60. Although information is lacking with regard to the specific areas of concentration for men and women teachers with degrees, we would be likely to discover an approximation of this general distribution pattern whereby men would have a broader range of degree specialties than would women.

The boundaries delineating the career territory firmly held by women (classroom teaching in the elementary panel) are being collapsed without a parallel collapse of the boundaries on the career territory held by men (administrative positions in the elementary panel and subject specific teaching in the secondary panel). This tendency is further reinforced by the fact that men teachers in the secondary panel who do not have degrees (predominantly teaching in occupations programs) will be eligible for placement in the elementary panel by exercising the "mutual agreement" option. Thus the 18% of male teachers in the secondary panel who do not have B.A. degrees will be eligible for placement in the elementary panel, whereas the 58% of female teachers in the elementary panel who do not have B.A. degrees will not be eligible for placement in the secondary panel. Of course, the 24% of male elementary teachers who do not have degrees will also not be eligible for such placement, unless they are being assigned to occupations programs. It is clear that the mobility range for men and women teachers under the new certification scheme is quite different and that the range for women will be more restricted than it will be for men.

The fact that women teachers in general will be more restricted in the range of teaching options available to them than men teachers may have serious implications for maintaining the participation rate of women in the teaching profession. The brief to the Commission on Declining Enrolment presented by the Federation of Women Teachers' Association of Ontario has already documented the trend in the 1970's toward the masculinization of the educational staff at both the elementary and secondary levels in Ontario and the new certification system may serve to exacerbate this trend (FWTAO Brief to CODE: page 51 and 56).

TABLE V.1

Secondary School Teachers, Numerical Distribution by First Subject Specialty and by Sex, 1976-77

| Subject | English | French | Other Languages | *Social Sciences | Applied Science Math Science | Music | Home-Economics | Library | Physical Education | Office-Skills and Business | Industrial Arts | Visual Arts | Special Education | Others |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of Men | 2,278 | 960 | 303 | 4,974 | 1,522 | 208 | 7 | 115 | 553 | 250 | 2,393 | 241 | 593 | 5,549 |
| Number of Women | 1,814 | 961 | 275 | 1,073 | 451 | 86 | 421 | 262 | 182 | 713 | 17 | 167 | 221 | 1,923 |
| Total Number | 4,092 | 1,921 | 578 | 6,047 | 1,973 | 294 | 428 | 377 | 735 | 963 | 2,410 | 468 | 814 | 7,472 |

Source: CODE Data Files

* "Social Sciences" includes History and Geography, in addition to pure Social Science.

TABLE V.2

Secondary School Teachers, Percentage by
First Subject Specialty and by Sex, 1976-77

| Subject | English | French | Other Languages | *Social Sciences | Applied Science Math Science | Music | Home-Economics | Library | Physical Education | Office-Skills and Business | Industrial Arts | Visual Arts | Special Education | Others |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of Men | 55.7 | 50.0 | 52.4 | 82.3 | 77.1 | 70.7 | 1.6 | 30.5 | 75.2 | 26.0 | 99.3 | 59.1 | 72.9 | 74.3 |
| Number of Women | 44.3 | 50.0 | 47.6 | 17.7 | 22.9 | 29.3 | 98.4 | 69.5 | 24.8 | 74.0 | 0.7 | 40.9 | 27.1 | 25.7 |
| Total Number | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: CODE Data Files

* "Social Sciences" includes History and Geography, in addition to pure Social Science.

TABLE V.3

Secondary School Teachers, Percentage Distribution of Men and Women by First Subject Specialty, 1976-77

| Subject | English | French | Other Languages | *Social Sciences | Applied Science | Music | Home-Economics | Library | Physical Education | Office Skills and Business | Industrial Arts | Visual Arts | Special Education | Others | Total Percentage | Total Number |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| % Males | 11.4 | 4.8 | 1.5 | 24.8 | 7.7 | 1.0 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 2.8 | 1.3 | 12.0 | 1.2 | 3.0 | 27.8 | 99.9** | 19,946 |
| % Females | 21.2 | 11.2 | 3.2 | 12.5 | 5.2 | 1.0 | 4.9 | 3.1 | 2.1 | 8.3 | 0.2 | 1.9 | 2.6 | 22.5 | 99.9** | 8,566 |

Source: CODE Data Files

* "Social Science" includes History and Geography, in addition to pure Social Science.

**Variations from 100% are due to rounding off procedures.

TABLE V.4

Degree Qualifications of Secondary School Teachers in Ontario, 1977

| Degree Held | Males | | Females | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| B.A. | 18,198 | 73.0 | 9,121 | 83.0 |
| M.A. | 2,220 | 9.0 | 630 | 6.0 |
| Dr. | 71 | .3 | 17 | .2 |
| No Degree | 4,578 | 18.0 | 1,201 | 11.0 |
| Totals | 25,067 | 100.0 | 10,969 | 100.0 |

Source: Education Relations Commission, Teacher Statistics, Table 4, Secondary Schools, July 11, 1977

## VI CONCLUSION

### 1. General Comments

We have described an internally segregated profession with divergent roles for women and men and differing professional careers. The internal segregation is not fully exclusive and without overlap between women and men, as it is between physicians and nurses or between dentists and dental hygienists, but it is no less one creating systematic inequalities between the sexes. A secondary status for women has been institutionalized in teaching, giving them little access to promotion, a lower share of teaching at more advanced levels, a more limited range of specialties, and a larger share of classroom teaching. Women have related to teaching as a profession making possible a dual commitment to both family and profession, but it is only men's career lines which are fully institutionalized in the ways in which qualifications and experience are accumulated and avenues to promotion are laid down. Women have in fact made a professional commitment which has not been properly recognized as such. The traditional pattern whereby women leave teaching when their children come and return at the part-time level provides the school system with relatively high levels of skills, commitment and experience without recognizing it in formal ways, i.e. in status, access to promotion, or even adequate protection against redundancy.

In the last few years women's position in teaching has been modified by a process we have called one-sided desegregation. It is characterized by a tendency for the barriers which have protected women and men from competing with one another for the same positions to break down in one way only -- which is to the advantage of the group already advantaged. We have indicated some of the ways in which men teachers have been recently moving into positions which were formerly thought of as women's (e.g. into elementary school teaching in increasing numbers). We have noted also that there are few if any signs of compensating moves opening up to women positions conventionally considered as men's.

The changes which follow from declining enrolment or from administrative and other changes accompanying them, have implications for the situation of women teachers as they are transmitted through the social organization

of the internally segregated profession (already in a process of change). We have pointed to implications of some of the general recommendations and specific policy changes associated with the current reorganization. We have attempted a general assessment of Dr. Jackson's administrative alternatives which we see as having the potential for a general de-professionalizing of teaching; of the suggested curriculum changes in relation to women's subjects and specialty areas likely to be protected as redundancy measures go into effect and we have considered the newly introduced Ontario Teacher's Certificate and its consequences in the context of a trend towards one-sided desegregation.

In our conclusion we would like to return to the problem of how existing inequalities may be intensified by an objective application of a rule or procedure intended to be equitable in its effect. Because women teachers have been accorded a secondary status, they are particularly vulnerable in a situation of cutbacks. If a straight seniority principle is used in making decisions with respect to who shall be declared redundant, our data indicate that this would produce a marked overall differential effect on the status of women and men teachers. Women's share of public elementary and secondary school teaching would diminish considerably. We have put together tables showing the numbers of women and men at each experience level up to nine years based on 1977-78 data. Information beyond this can be found in the Code Interim Report: Table 6.3, page 252. These are the experience levels likely to be relevant to staff reductions. We have noted already that part-time teachers presently accumulate seniority at half the rate of full-time teachers. Thus, women who engage in non-teaching intervals (devoted to family and childcare for the most part) accumulate seniority more slowly and fall behind men at the same or similar ages. Women are more vulnerable than men when staff reductions are based strictly on seniority because their characteristic professional career pattern has not been accorded general institutional recognition (as for example it has begun to be by those boards which have recently provided for bridging seniority).

Let us imagine a simple and dramatic staff reduction procedure and follow through the numerical consequences. Let us first see what would happen in terms of the numbers shown for 1976-77 when we simply eliminate all those with experience of three years or less. Four times more women than men

would be affected. A cut-off at five years of experience or less shows that five times more women than men would be affected. Follow these overall consequences through and we see that the three year reduction could result in a teaching profession in Ontario in which women's share would decline from 49% to 45% and with the five year reduction, drop down to 43%.

Consider then that something like this is going on, but that it is modified in various ways. For example, those in administrative positions are not declared redundant; certain specialty areas are protected (special education, French, music, etc.) in some of which women may have an advantage at the elementary level, though at the secondary level more men than women would be sheltered in this way. On balance women are not likely to come out ahead since in these ways too, established inequities are transmitted if not intensified.

It is of key importance to understand that these effects do not arise from direct discriminatory practices, but from established inequities which fail to accord to women proper recognition of a career pattern combining marriage, family responsibilities and professional commitment. The sharper and longer term effects of such a redundancy policy are to place women in a forced choice position whereby they will have to choose -- not as they did in the past between professional career and a combination of marriage, family and professional career (often without promotion or with delayed and "inferior" promotion); but between marriage and family and a professional career in teaching of any kind. In the present economic and social context women teachers may well choose their profession and forego children.

Remedies cannot be simple. We would recommend a strategy as much as specifics. The approach we have taken is one which locates the problem in the underlying institutional structure. The method is one which "feeds" changes through that structure. We have already seen that the underlying structure is undergoing change. This is the one-sided process of desegregation. At the same time there are some modifications in the direction of expanding women's opportunities for advancement into top administrative positions. The ordinary interpretation of affirmative action has focused almost exclusively on individuals and what happens to individuals. This approach assumes a social organization in which individuals are ranked as a product

of a competitive process. An affirmative action strategy based on this model leaves the underlying problems of a very different social organization essentially untouched.

2. Recommendations

1) WE RECOMMEND THAT MEASURES AIMED AT MODIFYING WOMEN'S SECONDARY STATUS IN THE TEACHING PROFESSION BE DIRECTED TOWARDS THE ACTUAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PROFESSION, THE SCHOOL SYSTEM AND ITS RELATION TO WOMEN'S LIVES AND RESPONSIBILITIES AT HOME.

Let us stress that we are not recommending that women's professional careers be accorded a distinctive status as such. We are recommending the establishment of provisions enabling women teachers to realize a full and serious professional commitment which may for some women (and conceivably even for some men) be different than that which follows a straight line forward and upward without intervals or periods of part-time employment. We suggest the reconstruction of the profession providing for differentiated and alternative career lines -- not on the basis of sex, but allowing for the different relation women and men have and continue generally to have to family and children.

2) WE RECOMMEND THAT ALL BOARDS OF EDUCATION RECOGNIZE AND APPLY BRIDGED SENIORITY PRINCIPLES AND THE DETERMINATION OF SENIORITY FOR REDUNDANCY PURPOSES.

Mechanisms are already in existence among some boards which allow seniority to be retained across a non-teaching or non-employment interval. The practice of "bridging seniority" is an important one for women teachers and would be essential in reducing the special vulnerability of women in relation to redundancies.

3) WE RECOMMEND THAT THE CALCULATION OF SENIORITY FOR JOB SECURITY PURPOSES BE TRANSFERABLE AND CUMULATIVE FROM ONE BOARD OF EDUCATION TO ANOTHER.

The increased administrative integration of education in Ontario should make it more possible to transfer seniority relative to job security from one board to another. It is already possible to transfer seniority relative to salary. It should be similarly possible to transfer seniority in relation to job security.

4) WE RECOMMEND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CAREER PART-TIME APPOINTMENT, DIFFERENTIATED FROM OTHER PART-TIME POSITIONS, WHICH MIGHT BECOME AVAILABLE TO TEACHERS FOLLOWING THEIR CAREER APPOINTMENT (GENERALLY AFTER FIVE YEARS OF SUCCESSFUL TEACHING) AND WHICH WOULD ACCRUE SENIORITY FOR PART-TIME TEACHERS AT THE SAME ANNUAL RATE AS FOR FULL-TIME TEACHERS.

The generalization of part-time positions has been suggested above. Perhaps even some forms of job-sharing should be implemented. Our analysis of one-sided processes of desegregation suggests that this could well lead to a marginalization of women teachers, increasing their vulnerability to redundancy. Our discussions with teachers also suggest that part-time teaching is part-time only in pay and in fact teachers often put into this work care, time, energy and commitment that go considerably beyond the formal prescriptions. Nevertheless, <u>if appropriate safeguards are built into alternative employment structures</u>, the extension of part-time teaching or the implementation of job-sharing may be particularly beneficial for women teachers.

## 3. <u>Epilogue</u>

No one measure should be considered in isolation. Furthermore, no one measure should be considered without looking at it in relation to the underlying social organization and the processes of change already developing. One conclusion our work has brought us to is that of the need for more research and more information concerning the situation of women teachers and in general of women in relation the educational system. At various points we found questions we could not answer, sometimes ones we could not address. For example, the information concerning part-time teachers and the significance of teachers' aides to the school system was not available. Other questions were raised for us in relation to the training process which women teachers experience. The differentiation among women and men in subject matter at the secondary school level and the restriction of women to 'traditional' areas drew attention to the consequences of 'streaming' built into the school and college system which has been and is transmitted to teachers in the educational system

in the form of qualifications and specialties. These are examples of some of the gaps in knowledge located by the research we have done.

Declining enrolment is associated with a period of re-organization in the Ontario school system. Such a time presents opportunities as well as risks. Our study has pointed to bases of inequality for women teachers which are not eliminated through policies restricted to an individualized interpretation of affirmative action. Re-organization can be an opportunity to make changes advancing and strengthening the professional status of women teachers, rendering them less vulnerable to the unintended consequences of policies and regulations applied evenhandedly to women and men, and giving proper formalized recognition to their professional skills, experience and commitment.

TABLE VI.1

Experience, Elementary and Secondary Teachers, by Year and Sex, 1976-77, First 9 Years Only*

| Experience in Years | Elementary | | Secondary | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women |
| Less Than 1 Year | 795 | 2,655 | 605 | 634 | 1,400 | 3,289 |
| 1 | 975 | 3,342 | 780 | 797 | 1,755 | 4,139 |
| 2 | 468 | 1,160 | 830 | 684 | 1,298 | 1,844 |
| 3 | 516 | 1,180 | 755 | 536 | 1,271 | 1,716 |
| 4 | 684 | 1,349 | 896 | 629 | 1,580 | 1,978 |
| 5 | 692 | 1,515 | 1,029 | 705 | 1,588 | 2,220 |
| 6 | 751 | 1,918 | 1,142 | 765 | 1,893 | 2,683 |
| 7 | 933 | 2,121 | 1,202 | 607 | 2,135 | 2,728 |
| 8 | 757 | 1,744 | 1,610 | 697 | 2,367 | 2,441 |
| 9 | 672 | 1,630 | 1,525 | 561 | 2,282 | 2,191 |

*Information on experience at years beyond 9 can be found in the CODE Interim Report Table

Source: CODE Data Files

TABLE VI.2

Experience, Elementary and Secondary Teachers,
Cumulated Numbers at 3 Years and 5 Years Experience, by Sex

| | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|
| 3 Years | 2,624 | 10,988 |
| 5 Years | 3,958 | 15,186 |

TABLE VI.3

Projected Totals: 1976-77 Total Educational Staff,
Less September 1976 Cumulated "3 Year" and "5 Year"
Staff Reductions by Sex

| | Men | Women | Total | Women % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1976 - 77 | 38,830 | 38,033 | 76,863 | 49.0 |
| "3 Year" Reduction | 33,106 | 27,045 | 60,151 | 45.0 |
| "5 Year" Reduction | 29,805 | 22,845 | 52,652 | 43.4 |

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arbus, Judith "Historical Analysis of the Position of Women Workers During the Depression," unpublished paper, 1978.

Armstrong, Pat and Hugh Armstrong The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work. Toronto: McClelland and Steward, 1978.

Gross, Edward "Plus ça change...? The sexual structure of occupations over time" Social Problems, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 198-208, 1968

Haliburton, Roy Edward Factors Influencing Principals' Ratings of Administrative Potential Among Junior High School Chairmen. Doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 1971.

Humphries, Jane "Women: Scapegoats and Safety-valves in the Great Depression," The Review of Radical Political Economics, issue on Women and the Economy, Vol. 8, No. 1, Spring 1976.

Meissner, Martin; Humphreys, Elizabeth; Scott, Meiss and William J. Scheu "No Exit for Wives: Sexual Division of Labour and the Culmination of Household Demands," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 12 (Part 1), November 1975.

Milkman, Ruth "Women's Work and Economic Crisis: Some Lessons of the Great Depression," The Review of Radical Political Economics, Issue on Women and the Economy, Vol. 8, No. 1, Spring 1976.

Reich, Carol The Effect of a Teacher's Sex on Career Development. Toronto: Board of Education for the City of Toronto, Research Department, 1975.

Robinson, H.L. "The Silenced Majority," The Canadian Forum, November 1975.

Stokes, Shirley The Shortest Shadow: A Descriptive Study of the Members of the Federation of Women Teachers' Association of Ontario. Report to the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario, 1971.

Thönnessen, Werner The Emancipation of Women: The Rise and Decline of the Women's Movement in German Social Democracy, 1863-1933. London: Pluto Press, 1973.